940.25
T247
62267, v.1

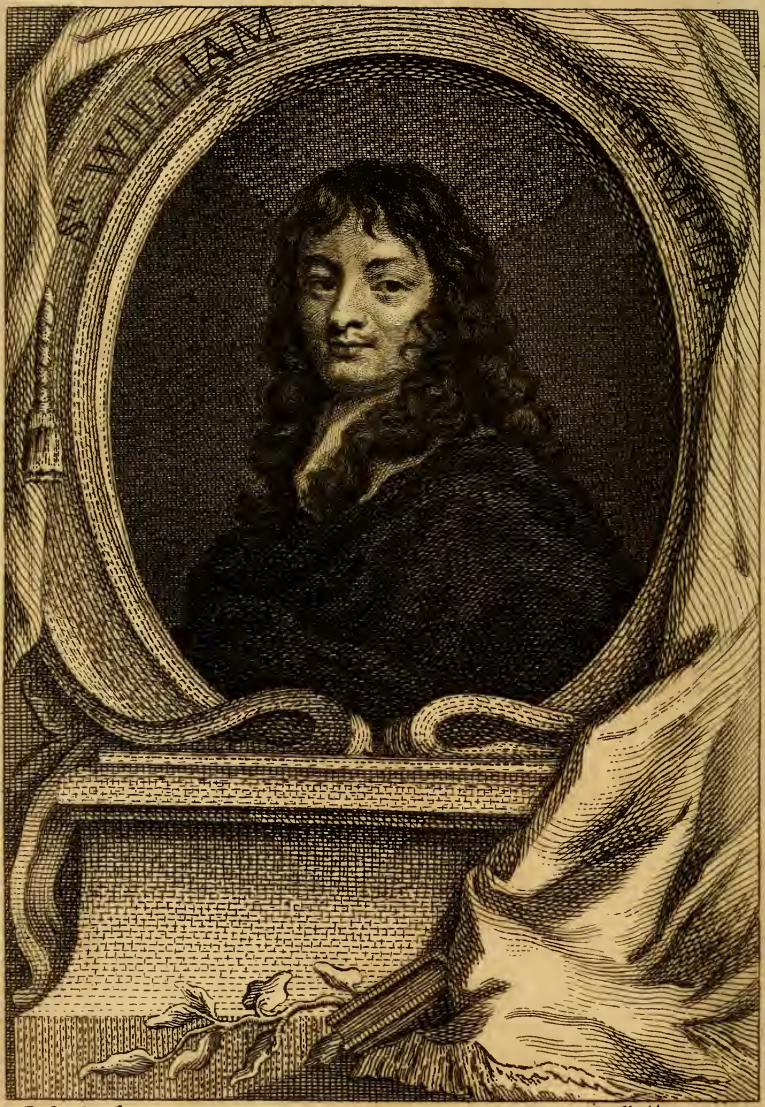
BOOK 940.25.T247 v.1 c.1
TEMPLE # WORKS

3 9153 00213233 2

C3

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
Boston Library Consortium Member Libraries

http://www.archive.org/details/worksofsirwillia001temp



P. Lely Eqr. pinxt. J. Miller Sc.

D
273
.A2
T4
1770
v.1

THE WORKS OF Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, Bart.

VOLUME the FIRST.

LONDON,

Printed for J. Brotherton and W. Sewell, J. Whiston, C. Bathurst, J. and F. Rivington, T. Payne, W. Johnston, S. Crowder, B. White, L. Hawes and Co. C. Rivington, G. Pearch, J. Knox, R. Baldwin, and the Executors of H. Lintot and T. Wotton.

MDCCLXX.

940.25
H247
m

THE

WORKS

OF

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, Bart.

COMPLETE

In FOUR VOLUMES Octavo.

To which is prefixed,

The *Life* and *Character* of the *Author*.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON.

Printed for J. BROTHERTON and W. SEWELL, J. WHISTON, C. BATHURST, J. and F. RIVINGTON, T. PAYNE, W. JOHNSTON, S. CROWDER, B. WHITE, L. HAWES and Co. C. RIVINGTON, G. PEARCH, J. KNOX, R. BALDWIN, and the Executors of H. LINTOT, and T. WOTTON.

MDCCLXX.

Advertiſement.

IN this new edition of the celebrated Sir William Temple's Works his Political tracts are printed according to the order of time in which they were written; with this exception, that as the eſſay *On the original and nature of government*, and the *Obſervations on the United Netherlands*, will give the Reader a juſt idea of Government in general, and in particular of the conſtitution, revenue, and forces of that country which was the ſcene of the author's important negotiations, theſe are placed firſt, as the beſt introduction to the ſubſequent tracts.

The Author, unhappily for poſterity, committed to the flames the *Firſt Part* of the *Memoirs* of his negotiations, for reaſons which are gueſſed at by Dr. Swift (ſee Vol. II. p. 486.) but to ſupply that loſs he permitted the publication of the Letters he wrote during the period which made the ſubject of that part: thoſe Letters are therefore, in this edition, prefixed to the *Second Part* of his *Memoirs*.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME the FIRST.

Page

LIFE of the author — vii—xxviii

An essay on the original and nature of government —— —— 29—57

Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands —— —— 58

1. *Of the rise and progress of the United Provinces* —— —— 64

2. *Of their government* —— 114

3. *Of their situation* — 145

4. *Of their people and dispositions* 153

5. *Of their religion* — 170

6. *Of their trade* — — 182

7. *Of their forces and revenues* 204

8. *The causes of their fall in* 1672 210

Letters containing an account of the most important transactions that passed in Christendom from 1665 *to* 1672 —— — 222

THE

LIFE

AND

CHARACTER

OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE.*

[*Written by a particular Friend.*]

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE was deſcended from a younger branch of the family of the TEMPLES, of Temple-hall, in Leiceſterſhire. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, of the elder branch, pretended that his anceſtors came in with the Conqueſt, and had the pedigree diſtinct from King John's time, when they were poſſeſſed of great eſtates; but, having taken the unfortunate ſide in Richard the Third's

time, loſt all but Temple-hall, which was afterwards ſold, and could never be recovered, either by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, or his father.

HIS grandfather was Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, an eighth ſon, bred up at King's college in Cambridge, deſigned for the law, but he fell into the more refined and philoſophical ſtudies of that age; and writ on thoſe ſubjects two treatiſes in very elegant Latin, which he dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, who firſt prevailed with him to leave the college, and accompany him abroad, and there died in his arms; after he had before his death recommended him to the great Earl of Eſſex, who was then in the heighth of Queen Elizabeth's favour, and whoſe Secretary he was till the tragical end of his life. Sir WILLIAM not only fell with him from the proſpect of ſo great fortunes, but was purſued by Cecil, and at laſt ſent over to Ireland, where he followed the courſe of his ſtudies in the college, of which he was choſen Provoſt, and there died at the age of ſeventy-three years, and lies buried there.

HIS eldeſt ſon JOHN TEMPLE was ſent young abroad, and afterwards bred in the court of King Charles the Firſt; and by him made Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland: he married a ſiſter of the famous Dr. Hammond, and by her had four ſons and one daughter, who all, except one ſon, ſurvived him. He lived at Dublin, and was of the Privy Council there, and in particular friendſhip and confidence with the Earl of Leiceſter, then declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, when the rebellion there, in 1640, broke out; in the tranſactions of which remarkable year he was deeply engaged; and, upon the changes in the King's counſels and affairs, was impriſoned with three more Privy Counſellors, for oppoſing the ceſſation which the Duke of Ormond was commanded to make with the Iriſh rebels.

In

IN 1644, he was exchanged, and ſent for by the Parliament in England, in which he ſat till 1648, and was then turned out with thoſe they called the ſecluded members, for joining with them in voting for the conditions of the peace then treated with the King in the Iſle of Wight. During the ſad ſcene which followed his execrable murder, he continued to live privately in London till the happy reſtoration in 1660, when he returned to the place of Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, where he lived in great plenty and eſteem, and there died in the year 77, which was the ſame of his age, and lies buried by his father in Dublin college.

HIS eldeſt ſon, WILLIAM TEMPLE, was born at London, in 1628, firſt ſent to ſchool at Penſhurſt in Kent, under the care of his uncle Dr. Henry Hammond, then Miniſter of that pariſh, and from thence, at ten years old, to Mr. Leigh, ſchoolmaſter of Biſhop-ſtratford, to whom, he uſed to ſay, he was beholden for all he knew of Greek and Latin: having attained to all that was to be learned there, at fifteen he returned home, the diſorders of that time having hindered his going to the univerſity till ſeventeen, when he was placed in Emanuel college in Cambridge, under Dr. Cudworth. At nineteen he began his travels into France, in 1648, a time ſo diſmal to England, that none but they, who were the occaſion of thoſe troubles and confuſions in their country, could be ſorry to leave it: he choſe to paſs through the Iſle of Wight, where his Majeſty was then priſoner in Cariſbrook caſtle, and met there with Mrs. Dorothy Oſborn, daughter to Sir Peter Oſborn, then Governor of Guernſey for the King, who was going with her brother to their father at St. Maloes; he made that journey with them, and there began an amour with that young lady, which laſted ſeven years, and then ended in a happy marriage. He paſſed two years

in France, learned French perfectly, and soon after made a tour into Holland, Flanders, and Germany, in which he grew as perfect a master of Spanish, and, after his return in 1654, he married Mrs. Osborn; and, during the usurpation, passed his time privately with his father, two brothers and a sister, then in Ireland, all happy in that perfect kindness and agreement which has been so often taken notice of in their family.

The five years he lived there were spent chiefly in his closet, in improving himself in history and philosophy; and at that time he had five children, which he buried there. He refused all solicitations of entering into any employment under the usurper, and, at the happy restoration in 1660, was chosen member of the Convention in Ireland; and whilst every body was vying, who should make most court to the King, a pole bill was read. Though he and many others thought it to the height of what the nation could bear, the Lords Justices, whilst it was debating, sent a message to the house, to desire it might be doubled; which, amongst a great many that disliked it, Sir William Temple only opposed, though the rest afterwards joined with him: the Lords Justices, that heard whence the difficulty came, sent some to reason it with him; his answer was, that he had nothing to say to it out of the house; where they chose a time to pass it in his absence. This made a great deal of talk, and brought him into more conversation and business, than he had been used to in that country.

After this a Parliament was called there, and he chosen, with his father, for the county of Caslow, and often turned the house in their warmest debates, by never entering into any of their parties and factions, not minding whom he angered, or pleased. In 1662, he was chosen one of the Commissioners

to

to be ſent from that Parliament to the King, and then waited on the new Lord-Lieutenant the Duke of Ormond: ſoon after, he returned into Ireland, but with a reſolution of quitting that kingdom, and removing his family into England: at his return he began to obſerve a very different countenance in the Duke of Ormond, from what he had found before, and ſoon grew to have ſo much ſhare in his kindneſs and eſteem, that the Duke complained to him, that he was the only man in Ireland, that had never aſked him any thing; and, when he told him his deſign of carrying his family into England, ſaid, he ſhould at leaſt give him leave to write in his favour to the two great Miniſters, the Lord Chancellor and Earl of Arlington; and did it ſo much to his advantage, that his recommendation gave Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE the firſt entrance into their good graces, and the good opinion of the King; which he made no other uſe of, than to tell Lord Arlington, then Secretary of State, that if his Majeſty had any employment abroad, which he thought ſuch a man as he capable of ſerving him in, he ſhould be very happy in it, but deſired, it might not carry him into the northern climates, which he had a great averſion to: Lord Arlington ſaid, he was ſorry for it, becauſe there was at that time no other undiſpoſed of, but that of going Envoy to Sweden.

IN 1665, about the beginning of the firſt Dutch war, Lord Arlington ſent a meſſenger to him to come immediately to his houſe; which he did, and found his buſineſs was to tell him, the King had occaſion to ſend one abroad upon an affair of the greateſt truſt and importance, and that he had reſolved to make him the firſt offer of it, but that he muſt know preſently whether he would accept of it, or no, without telling him what it was, and be content to go in three or four days, without ſaying more of it to

any of his friends: after having considered a little, he told my Lord, he took him to be his friend, and, since he must consult with no body else, would be advised by him: he said, his advice was, that he should not refuse it, whether he liked it or no, as an entrance into his Majesty's service, and the way to something he might like better; and then told him, it was to go to the Bishop of Munster, and conclude a treaty between the King and him, by which the Bishop should be obliged, upon receiving a certain sum of money, to enter immediately with his Majesty into the war with Holland. In July he began his journey to Coesvelt, and not long after the secret came out, that he had in very few days concluded and signed the treaty there, in which his perfect knowledge in Latin, which he had retained, was of no little advantage to him, the Bishop conversing in no other language. After signing the treaty, he went to Brussels, saw the first payment made, and received the news that the Bishop was in the field, by which this negociation began first to be discovered; but no body suspected the part he had in it, who continued privately at Brussels till it was whispered to the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo their Governor, that he came upon some particular errand (which he was then at liberty to own) who thereupon sent to desire his acquaintance, and that he might see him in private, to which he easily consented. Soon after a commission was sent him to be Resident at Brussels (which he had wished for in his travels thither so many years before) with a patent for a Baronet.

In April 1666, Sir William Temple sent for his family into Flanders, but before their arrival was posted again into Munster, to prevent the Bishop's making peace with the Dutch, which he threatened to do, upon the ill payments from England, and signed it at Cleve the very night Sir William Temple came to Munster; who, finding nothing was to be done,

done, presently returned to Brussels, where he passed one year with great pleasure and satisfaction: before the end of it the peace with the Dutch was concluded at Breda; and the spring after, in 1667, a new war broke out between France and Spain, which began by the French seizing several towns in Flanders before they had time or warning enough to make any resistance; by which they fell so fast into their hands that Brussels was alarmed at their near approaches, and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, knowing that they had not sufficient troops to defend the town, sent his Lady and family into England, but staid there with his sister till Christmas following, when the King sent for him to come over privately, and with orders to pass through Holland, and make Monsieur De Witt a visit in the way, which produced the great negotiation of the triple alliance. Upon which, in five days after his arrival at Court, he was dispatched back to the Hague, and in as many he concluded that famous treaty between England, Sweden, and Holland, so surprising at that time, and so much applauded; and with this began a trust and confidence between him and Monsieur de Witt, from the experience, as well as assurance of truth and fairness in their dealings on both sides, which helped much to the ease and dispatch of those they were engaged in. After the ratifications were over, he had orders to return to Brussels, and endeavour to prevail with the Spaniards to consent to a peace with France, which was treated the next summer, in 1668, at Aix-la-Chapelle, whither he was sent Ambassador extraordinary and Mediator, and with his collegue Sir Lionel Jenkins, after many difficulties and delays, at last brought it to a happy conclusion.

SOON after, he was sent Ambassador extraordinary to the States General, with instructions to confirm the triple alliance, and solicit the Emperor and German Princes, by their Ministers, to enter into it; and

being the first English Ambassador, that had been there since King James's time, he was received and distinguished by all marks of regard and esteem they could express for his character and person; and, by the good opinion he had gained, was able to bring the States into such measures, as, M. de Witt said he was sure, was not in the power of any other man to do: he lived in confidence with that great Minister, by order from the King, and in constant and familiar conversation with the Prince of Orange, then eighteen years old; than which no man could have a more difficult part to act; and he compassed the chief design of his embassy, in engaging the Emperor and Spain in the measures that were then desired: but in this time happened Madam's journey into England, so well known to have changed them all; and though he had observed a disposition in the Court before, to complain of the Dutch upon small occasions, very unlike what he left it in, yet suspected nothing till Lord Arlington, in September 1669 hurried him over, by telling him, as soon as he received his letter he should put his foot into the stirrup. When he came to him, whom he always saw the first, and thought he had never more reason to make haste, he found he had not one word to say to him; and, after making him wait a great while, only asked him several indifferent questions about his journey, and he was received next day as coldly by the King. The secret soon came out, and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was pressed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland, with which, less than two years before, he had been so much applauded for having made so strict an alliance; but he excused himself from having any share in it, which so much provoked the Lord Treasurer Clifford, that he refused to pay him an arrear of two thousand pounds, due from his embassy. All this passed without unkindness from the King; but my Lord Arlington's usage, so unlike the

the friendſhip he had profeſſed, was reſented by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

HE now retired to a houſe he had purchaſed at Shene, near Richmond; and, in this interval of his leiſure and retreat, writ his *Obſervations on the United Provinces*, and one part of his *Miſcellanies*.

ABOUT the end of the ſummer, 1673, the King growing weary of the ſecond Dutch war, which was liked by few at Court, and none any where elſe, ſent for Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who was ever wanted upon that occaſion, to go into Holland and conclude the peace; towards which overtures began now to be made on both ſides; but, powers having been ſent at this time from thence to the Marquis de Freſno the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was ordered to treat it with him, and in three days it was concluded, and the point of the flag carried, that had been ſo long conteſted. Upon this Lord Arlington offered him the embaſſy into Spain, which, for want of his father's conſent, who was then old and infirm, he refuſed; and, ſoon after, the place of Secretary of State, for want of ſix thouſand pounds, which he was to lay down for it, and could not ſpare.

IN June, 1674, he was again ſent Ambaſſador into Holland, with offer of the King's mediation between France and the Confederates, then at war; which was not long after accepted; and Lord Berkeley, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were declared Ambaſſadors and Mediators, and Nimeguen (which he had propoſed) was conſented to at laſt by all parties to be the place of treaty. During his ſtay at the Hague, the Prince of Orange, who was fond of ſpeaking Engliſh, and of their plain way of eating, conſtantly dined and ſupped once or twice a week at his houſe, who thereby grew ſo much into the Prince's eſteem and confidence, as gave him ſo great a part in that conſiderable affair of his

marriage with Lady Mary, ſo well known in the world, and ſo particularly related in his *Memoirs*. One advantage he made of it from an accident, that then happened, may be worth mentioning, becauſe he reckoned it himſelf amongſt the good fortunes of his life. There were five Engliſhmen taken and brought to the Hague whilſt he was there, and in the Prince's abſence, who were immediately tried, and condemned by a council of war, for deſerting their colours: ſome of his ſervants had the curioſity to viſit their unfortunate countrymen, and came home with a deplorable ſtory, that, by what they had heard, it ſeemed to be a miſtake; and that they were all like to die innocent; but, however, that it was without remedy, that their graves were digging, and they were to be ſhot next morning. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE left nothing unattempted to prevent their ſudden execution, and ſent to the officers to threaten them, that he would complain firſt to the Prince, and then to the King, who, he was ſure, would demand reparation, if ſo many of his ſubjects ſuffered unjuſtly: but nothing would move them, till he made it his laſt requeſt to reprieve them one day, in which the Prince happened to come within reach of returning an anſwer to a meſſage he ſent; upon which they were releaſed. The firſt thing they did was to go and ſee their graves, and the next to come and thank Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE upon their knees.

IN July 1676, he removed his family to Nimeguen, where he paſſed that year without making any progreſs in the treaty, that from ſeveral accidents was then at a ſtand; and, the year after, his ſon was ſent over with letters from my Lord Treaſurer to order him to return and ſucceed Mr. Coventry in his place of Secretary of State, which he made ſome difficulties of reſigning, unleſs he had leave to name his ſucceſſor; which the King refuſed, and fell into an ill humour upon it. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who was not fond

fond of the change, desired his Majesty to let it alone till all parties were agreed, and the treaty, he was then engaged in, concluded, to which he did not return that year. About this time, the Prince of Orange, having the King's leave to come over, soon after married Lady Mary; and from this happened another occasion of unkindness between Lord Arlington and him; my Lord Treasurer, who was related to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Lady, and he being only in the secret of all that affair; upon which Lord Arlington said a very good thing, though not in very good humour, That some things were so ill in themselves, that the manner of doing them could not mend them, and others so good, that the manner, they were done in, could not spoil them; and that the Prince of Orange's match was of the last sort. Lord Arlington's coldness to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE began from his early acquaintance with the Lord Treasurer (they having travelled young together) and his relation to him by marriage; and he being now chief Minister in Lord Arlington's room, and they two living in the last degree of ill intelligence with one another, it was impossible to keep the favour of both these great men, which was the true reason of Lord Arlington's falling out with him, with whom, from circumstances better forgot than repeated, he could not afterwards live well. After the Prince and Princess were gone into Holland, the inclination at Court always leaning towards France, the King would have engaged Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in some negotiations with that crown, so contrary to those he had been before concerned in, and which he was so ill satisfied with, that he offered to give up his pretensions to the Secretary's place, which he desired my Lord Treasurer to acquaint his Majesty with, and so went to Shene with the hopes of being taken at his word, growing very weary, as Monsieur de Witt used to express it, of the perpetual fluctuation he had observed in all our counsels

ſels ſince Queen Eliſabeth's reign. But, upon diſcovery of the French deſigns not to evacuate the Spaniſh towns agreed on by the treaty to be delivered up, the King commanded him to go upon a third embaſſy to the States, with whom he concluded a treaty, by which England was engaged, upon the refuſal of the French to evacuate the towns in forty days, to declare immediate war with France: but, before half that time was run out, one De Croſs was ſent from our Court into Holland, upon an errand that damped all the good humour that treaty had given them there, and the life it had put into all their affairs; and ſuch ſudden and ſurpriſing changes in our own, which Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had ſeen too often to be aſtoniſhed at, gave him a diſtaſte to all publick employments.

IN 1679, he went back to Nimeguen, where the French delayed ſigning the treaty to the laſt hour; which after he had concluded, he returned to the Hague, from whence he was ſoon ſent for to enter upon the Secretary's place, which Mr. Coventry was at laſt reſolved to part with, and my Lord Sunderland, who was newly come into the other, preſſed him with ſo much earneſtneſs to accept of. He very unwillingly obeyed his Majeſty's commands to come over, having long had at heart a viſit he had promiſed to make the Great Duke, as ſoon as his embaſſy was ended; having begun a particular acquaintance with him in England, and kept up a correſpondence ever ſince. Beſides, having ſo ill ſucceeded in the deſigns (which no man ever more ſteadily purſued in the courſe of his employments) of doing his country the beſt ſervice, and advancing its honour and greatneſs to the height he thought it capable of being raiſed to, he reſolved to aſk leave of the King to retire; and indeed no body could have engaged in public affairs with a worſe proſpect than there was at this time, or in a more unpleaſant ſcene; the Popiſh plot being newly

newly broke out, which the King believed nothing of, the people frighted, and the Parliament violent in the profecution of it. In this melancholy poſture of affairs, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE came to Court, as all his friends hoped, with the deſign of entering upon the Secretary's place, which he made a difficulty of, becauſe he was not in the houſe of Commons, and thought the public buſineſs would ſuffer thereby in ſo critical a time, in which the conteſts ran ſo high between the two parties, that the King thought fit to ſend the Duke into Flanders, and the Parliament to put my Lord Treaſurer into the Tower. After this his Majeſty again preſſed Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE to be Secretary of State, uſing this argument, That he had now no body to conſult with at a time that he wanted the beſt advice. That which Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE gave him was, to truſt his affairs no more in any one hand, but chuſe ſo many men as he pleaſed for his Privy Council, whom he ſhould wholly truſt and adviſe with; which in few days the King conſented to, and the choice of the perſons was wholly concerted between his Majeſty and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who had leave next day to acquaint the Lord Chancellor, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Eſſex with it; who all approved of the reſolution, but thought it the greateſt point that ever was gained by any Miniſter; and, three days after the old council was diſſolved, this new one was eſtabliſhed, of which Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was one.

IN 1680, the councils began again to be changed, upon the King's having been very ill the end of the ſummer; and the Duke's returning privately to Court, and his treatment from ſome of thoſe perſons, whom, from the King's diſlike, if not averſion to, he found ſo difficult to bring into his favour and buſineſs, gave him a freſh diſtaſte to Court and councils, whither he ſeldom went; the particulars of which are publiſhed in the Third Part of the *Memoirs*, that were

were only written (as he expreſſed it in the original, now in the hands of one of his family) for the private ſatisfaction of his friends.

Soon after this, the King ſent for Sir William Temple again, and propoſed his going Ambaſſador into Spain, and give credit to an alliance pretended to be made with that crown, againſt the meeting of the Parliament; upon which the French Ambaſſadors, much diſſatisfied, ſaid, it was enough to give vigour to the Spaniſh monarchy. When his equipage was almoſt ready, and part of the money for it paid, the King changed his mind, and told him, he would have him defer his journey till the end of the ſeſſions of Parliament, of which he was choſen a member for the Univerſity of Cambridge, and in which the factions ran ſo high, that he ſaw it impoſſible to bring them to any temper. The Duke was ſent into Scotland: that would not ſatisfy them, nor any thing but a bill of excluſion, againſt which he always declared himſelf, being a legal man, and ſaid, his endeavours ſhould ever be to unite the Royal Family, but that he would never enter into any counſels to divide them. This famous bill after long conteſts was thrown out, and the Parliament diſſolved, and it was upon his Majeſty's taking this reſolution without the advice of his Privy Council, contrary to what he had promiſed, that Sir William Temple ſpoke ſo boldly there, and was ſo ill uſed for taking that liberty, by ſome of thoſe friends who had been moſt earneſt in promoting the laſt change. Upon this he grew quite tired with public buſineſs, refuſed the offer he had of ſerving again for the univerſity in the next Parliament, that was ſoon after called and met at Oxford, and was uneaſy with the name of a Privy Counſellor, which he ſoon got rid of; and the Duke being returned, and all the councils changed, Lord Sunderland's, Eſſex's, and Sir William Temple's names were by the King's order all ſtruck

ſtruck out of the Council-book together; upon which he took occaſion to ſend the King word, That he would live the reſt of his life as good a ſubject as any in his kingdoms, but never more meddle with public affairs: the King aſſured him that he was not at all angry; and though he lived from that time at Shene till 1685, without ever ſeeing the town or Court, and had the privilege of returning no viſits that were made from thence by perſons of the beſt quality and fortune, who during thoſe five years frequented his houſe and table, yet he never failed of waiting on his Majeſty whenever he came into the neighbourhood, and no body was better received by his own maſter whilſt he lived, and by King James afterwards, who often turned the whole converſation to him, as ſoon as he entered the room at Richmond.

ABOUT this time his only ſon Mr. Temple (and the only child he had now left, having a few years before loſt his favourite daughter Diana of the ſmall-pox at fourteen years of age) was married in France to Mademoiſelle Rambouillet, a rich heireſs, and only daughter of Monſieur Dupleſſis, a French proteſtant of a very good family, a young Lady very eminent then for her rare accompliſhments of body and mind, and more ſo ſince for her great piety and charity, with whom he lived near four years very happily, and at his death (that was a cruel blow to his father in depriving him of ſuch an only heir of his parts and virtues, as well as his fortune) he left only two daughters that are now living, the eldeſt of which is married to Mr. John Temple, younger ſon to Sir John Temple who was Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S ſecond brother, and eſteemed one of the beſt lawyers in Ireland, and had been Solicitor and Attorney-General there many years; to whom Archbiſhop Sheldon made a ſingular compliment, that he had the curſe of the goſpel, becauſe all men ſpoke well of him. Mr. Temple's youngeſt daughter is married to Mr.

Nicholas Bacon, of Shrubland in the county of Suffolk.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE continued a year at Shene, and, having purchaſed a ſmall ſeat called Moor Park, near Farnham in Surrey, which he took a great fancy to for its ſolitude and retirement, and the healthy and pleaſant ſituation, and being much afflicted with the gout, and broken with age and infirmities, he reſolved to paſs the remainder of his life there, and in November, 1686, in his way thither, waited on King James, then at Windſor, and begged his favour and protection to one that would always live a good ſubject, but, whatever happened, never enter again upon any public employment, and deſired his Majeſty never to give credit to whatever he might hear to the contrary: the King, who uſed to ſay, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's character was always to be believed, promiſed him what he deſired, made him ſome reproaches for not coming into his ſervice, which he ſaid was his own fault, and kept his word as faithfully to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, as he did to his Majeſty during the ſurpriſing turn of affairs that ſoon after followed by the Prince of Orange's coming over, which, whatever people may ſuſpect, was ſo great a ſecret to him, that there is nothing ſurer, than that he was not only wholly unacquainted with it, but one of the laſt men in England that believed it.

AT the time of this happy revolution in 1688, Moor Park growing unſafe by lying in the way of both armies, he went back to the houſe he had given up to his ſon at Shene, who had been very uneaſy at being denied the leave he had ſo impatiently begged of his father, to go and meet the Prince of Orange at his landing, which, in telling his principles of never engaging in any thing that ſeemed to divide the Royal Family, I have already given the beſt and trueſt reaſon of. After King James's abdication, and the Prince's arrival at Windſor, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE went

went to wait upon his Highneſs, and carried his ſon; the Prince preſſed him to enter into his ſervice, and to be Secretary of State; ſaid, it was in kindneſs to him that he had not been acquainted with his deſign; came to him two or three times at Shene, and ſeveral of his friends made him very uneaſy, in laying to his heart how much the Prince (who was his friend) his country, and his religion, muſt ſuffer by his obſtinate refuſal to engage in their defence, that muſt give the world an ill opinion of this great undertaking, and make them miſtruſt ſome ill deſign at the bottom, which a man of his truth and honour did not care to be concerned in: and, though he continued unſhaken in his reſolutions, and very firm in keeping the promiſe he had made King James, that was mentioned before, yet he was very ſenſible of the trouble and uneaſineſs the Prince and all his friends expreſſed at it, and was the gladder to return to his retirement at Moor Park, about the end of the year 1689, to be out of the way of any more ſolicitations of that kind.

FROM that time he turned himſelf wholly to the cares and amuſements of a country life, ſaw little company in a place ſo deſolate, had the honour of being often conſulted by King William in ſome of his ſecret and important affairs, and of a viſit from him in his way from Wincheſter, and uſed to wait upon his Majeſty at Richmond and Windſor, where he was always very graciouſly received with that eaſineſs and familiarity, and particular confidence, that had begun in Holland ſo many years before.

IN 1694, he had the misfortune to loſe his Lady, who was a very extraordinary woman, as well as a good wife, of whom nothing more need be ſaid to her advantage, than that ſhe was not only much eſteemed by her own friends and acquaintance, ſome of whom were perſons of the greateſt figure, but valued and diſtinguiſhed by ſuch good judges of true merit

merit as King William and Queen Mary, with whom she had the honour to keep a constant correspondence, being justly admired for her fine style and turn of wit in writing letters, and whom she outlived about a month; the deep affliction for her Majesty's most deplorable death having hastened her own. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was then past sixty, at which age he practised what he had so often declared to be his opinion, that an old man ought then to conclude himself no longer of use in the world, but to himself and his friends. He lived four years after, extremely afflicted with the gout, which at last wore out his life; and, with the help of age and a natural decay of strength and spirits, ended it in January, 1698, in his seventieth year. He was buried privately in Westminster-Abbey, according to his directions in his will, that were in these words:

"I do order my body to be interred in the west "isle of Westminster-Abbey, near those two dear "pledges, my wife and my daughter Diana, that "lie there already; and that, after mine and my "sister Giffard's decease, a large stone of black "marble may be set up against the wall, with this "inscription:

"*Sibi suisque charissimis,*
"DIANÆ TEMPLE *dilectissimæ filiæ,*
"DOROTHEÆ OSBORN *conjunctissimæ conjugi,*
"*Et* MARTHÆ GIFFARD *optimæ sorori,*
"*Hoc qualecunque monumentum*
"*Poni curavit*
"GULIELMUS TEMPLE, *Baronettus.*"

THIS marble monument was according to his order set up after the Lady Giffard's death in 1722, who resembled him in his genius, as well as in his person, and left behind her the character of one of the best and most constant friends in the world.

A short

A ſhort CHARACTER of him.

I THINK nothing harder than to write any body's character, and that of a friend is ſtill more difficult: if one tells truth, it is thought partiality; and if one does not, it is a real piece of injuſtice. I will try (by ſaying little) to avoid both imputations.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's perſon is beſt known by his pictures and prints: he was rather tall, than low; his ſhape, when young, very exact; his hair a dark brown, and curled naturally, and, whilſt that was eſteemed a beauty, no body had it in greater perfection; his eyes grey, but lively; and his body lean, but extreme active, ſo that none acquitted themſelves better at all ſorts of exerciſe.

HE had an extraordinary ſpirit and life in his humour, with ſo agreeable turns of wit and fancy in his converſation, that no body was welcomer in all ſorts of company; and ſome have obſerved, that he never had a mind to make any body kind to him, without compaſſing his deſign.

HE was an exact obſerver of truth, thinking none that had failed once ought ever to be truſted again; of nice points of honour; of great humanity and good nature, taking pleaſure in making others eaſy and happy; his paſſions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reaſon and thought; his humour gay, but very unequal from cruel fits of ſpleen and melancholy, being ſubject to great damps from ſudden changes of weather, but chiefly from the croſſes and ſurpriſing turns in his buſineſs, and diſappointments he met with ſo often in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and ſervice of his country, which he thought himſelf two or three times ſo near compaſſing, that he could not think with patience of

what had hindered it, or of thoſe that he thought had been the occaſion of his diſappointments.

He never ſeemed buſy in his greateſt employments, was a great lover of liberty, and therefore hated the ſervitude of courts; ſaid he could never ſerve for wages, nor be buſy (as one is ſo often there) to no purpoſe; and never was willing to enter upon any employment but that of a public Miniſter.

He had been a paſſionate lover, was a kind huſband, a fond and indulgent father, a good maſter, and the beſt friend in the world; and, knowing himſelf to be ſo, was impatient of the leaſt ſuſpicion or jealouſy from thoſe he loved. He was ever kind to the memory of thoſe he had once liked and eſteemed; wounded to the heart by grief, upon the many loſſes of his children and friends, till recovered by reaſon and philoſophy, and that perfect reſignation to Almighty God, which he thought ſo abſolute a part of our duty; upon thoſe ſad occaſions often ſaying, His holy name be praiſed: His will be done.

He was not without ſtrong averſions, ſo as to be uneaſy at the firſt ſight of ſome he diſliked, and impatient of their converſation; apt to be warm in diſputes and expoſtulations, which made him hate the one, and avoid the other, which, he uſed to ſay, might ſometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends; he turned his converſation to what was more eaſy and pleaſant, eſpecially at table, where, he ſaid, ill humour ought never to come, and his agreeable talk at it, if it had been ſet down, would have been very entertaining to the reader, as well as it was to ſo many that heard it. He had a very familiar way of converſing with all ſorts of people, from the greateſt princes to the meaneſt ſervants, and even children, whoſe imperfect language and natural and innocent talk he was fond of, and made entertainment out of every

every thing that could afford it; when that he liked beſt failed, the next ſerved turn.

He lived healthful till forty-two, then began to be troubled with rheums upon his teeth and eyes, which he attributed to the air of Holland, and which ended, when he was forty-ſeven, in the gout, upon which he grew very melancholy, being then Ambaſſador at the Hague; he ſaid, a man was never good for any thing after it; and tho' he continued in buſineſs near three years longer, 'twas always with deſign of winding himſelf out as faſt as he could; and making good his own rules, that no body ſhould make love after forty, nor be in buſineſs after fifty: and tho' from this time he had frequent returns of ill health, he never cared to conſult phyſicians; ſaying, he hoped to die without them; and truſted wholly to the care and advice of his friends, which he often expreſſed himſelf ſo happy in, as to want nothing but health; which ſince riches could not help him to, he deſpiſed them.

He was born to a moderate eſtate, and did not much increaſe it during his employments, which, he tells his ſon in his letter to him before the ſecond part of his *Memoirs*, 'it is fit, ſhould contribute ſome-'thing to his entertainment, ſince they had done ſo 'little to his fortunes; upon which he could make 'him no excuſe, ſince it was ſo often in his power, 'that it was never in his thoughts, which were ever 'turned upon how much leſs he wanted, rather than 'how much more.' And in a fine ſtrain of philoſophy he concludes, 'If yours have the ſame turn, 'you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will 'be ever poor.' King Charles II. gave him the reverſion of the Maſter of the Rolls place in Ireland, after his father, who kept it during his life; and the preſents made him, in his ſeveral embaſſies, were chiefly laid out in building and planting, and in purchaſing old ſtatues and pictures, that ſtill remain in

his family, which were his only expence or extravagance, but not too great for his income. Thoſe that knew him little, thought him rich; to whom he uſed to anſwer pleaſantly, that he wanted nothing but an eſtate; and yet no body was more generous to his friends, or more charitable to the poor, in giving often, to true objects of charity, an hundred pounds at a time, and ſometimes three hundred.

His religion was that of the church of England, in which he was born and bred; how looſe ſoever Biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of his own times, repreſents his principles (from that common-place of hearſay that runs through the whole, for he was not acquainted with Sir William) yet there is no ground for ſuch uncharitable reflections given in his writings, in which his excellent letter to the Counteſs of Eſſex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence; and to that picture, drawn by himſelf in his works, I refer thoſe that care either to know or to imitate him.

AN

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

ORIGINAL and NATURE

OF

GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Year 1672.

THE nature of man ſeems to be the ſame in all times and places, but varied, like their ſtatures, complexions, and features by the force and influence of the ſeveral climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them, by a different mixture of the humours, and operation of the air, a different and unequal courſe of imaginations and paſſions, and conſequently of diſcourſes and actions.

Theſe differences incline men to ſeveral cuſtoms, educations, opinions, and laws, which form and govern the ſeveral nations of the world, where they are not interrupted by the violence of ſome force from

without, or ſome faction within, which, like a great blow, or a great diſeaſe, may either change or deſtroy the very frame of a body; though, if it lives to recover ſtrength and vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural conſtitution, or ſomething near it.

(I ſpeak not of thoſe changes and revolutions of State, or inſtitutions of government, that are made by the more immediate and evident operation of divine will and providence; being the themes of divines, and not of common men; and the ſubjects of our faith, not of reaſon.)

This may be the cauſe that the ſame countries have generally in all times been uſed to forms of government much of a ſort; the ſame nature ever continuing under the ſame climate, and making returns into its old channel, though ſometimes led out of it by perſuaſions, and ſometimes beaten out by force.

Thus the more northern and ſouthern nations (extremes, as they ſay, ſtill agreeing) have ever lived under ſingle and arbitrary dominions; as all the regions of Tartary and Muſcovy on the one ſide, and of Afric and India on the other: while thoſe under the more temperate climates, eſpecially in Europe, have ever been uſed to more moderate governments, running anciently much into commonwealths, and of later ages into principalities bounded by laws which differ leſs in nature than in name.

For, though the old diſtinctions run otherwiſe, there ſeem to be but two general kinds of government in the world; the one exerciſed according to the arbitrary commands and will of ſome ſingle perſon; and the other according to certain orders or laws introduced by agreement or cuſtom, and not to be changed without the conſent of many.

But under each of theſe may fall many more particular kinds than can be reduced to the common heads of government received in the ſchools. For

thoſe

thoſe of the firſt ſort differ according to the diſpoſitions and humours of him that rules, and of them that obey; as fevers do according to the temper of the perſons, and accidents of the ſeaſons. And thoſe of the other ſort differ according to the quality or number of the perſons upon whom is devolved the authority of making, or power of executing, laws.

Nor will any man, that underſtands the ſtate of Poland, and the United Provinces, be well able to range them under any particular names of government that have been yet invented.

The great ſcenes of action, and ſubjects of ancient ſtory, Greece, Italy, and Sicily, were all divided into ſmall commonwealths, till ſwallowed up and made provinces by that mighty one of Rome, together with Spain, Gaul, and Germany. Theſe were before compoſed of many ſmall governments, among which the cities were generally under commonwealths, and the countries under ſeveral Princes, who were Generals in their wars, but, in peace, lived without armies or guards, or any inſtruments of arbitrary power; and were only chief of their councils, and of thoſe aſſemblies by whoſe conſultations and authority the great affairs and actions among them were reſolved and enterpriſed.

Through all theſe regions, ſome of the ſmaller States, but chiefly thoſe of the cities, fell often under tyrannies, which ſpring naturally out of popular governments; while the meaner ſort of the people, oppreſſed or ill protected by the richer and greater, give themſelves up to the conduct of ſome one man in chief credit among them, and ſubmit all to his will and diſcretion, either running eaſily from one extreme to another, or contented to ſee thoſe, they hated and feared before, now in equal condition with themſelves; or becauſe a multitude is incapable of framing orders, though capable of conſerving them: or that every

man comes to find by experience, that confuſion and popular tumults have worſe effects upon common ſafety, than the rankeſt tyranny. For it is eaſier to pleaſe the humour, and either appeaſe or reſiſt the fury, of one ſingle man, than of a multitude. And, taking each of them in their extremes, the rage of a tyrant may be like that of fire, which conſumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one houſe after another; whereas the rage of people is like that of the ſea, which, once breaking bounds, overflows a country with that ſuddenneſs and violence, as leaves no hopes either of flying or reſiſting, till, with the change of tides or winds, it returns of itſelf.

The force and variety of accidents is ſo great, that it will not perhaps bear reaſoning, or inquiry, how it comes about that ſingle arbitrary dominion ſeems to have been natural to Aſia and Afric, and the other ſort to Europe. For though Carthage was indeed a commonwealth in Afric, and Macedon a kingdom in Europe; yet the firſt was not native of that ſoil (being a colony of the Tyrians, as there were ſome other ſmall ones of the Grecians upon the ſame coaſts) and the King of Macedon governed by laws, and the conſent, as well as councils, of the nobles; not, like the Kings of Perſia, by humour and will; as appears by the event of their quarrel, while ſo few ſubjects conquered ſo many ſlaves.

Yet one reaſon may be, that Sicily, Greece, and Italy (which were the regions of commonwealths) were planted thick with rich and populous cities (occaſioned by their being ſo far encompaſſed with the ſea) and the vein of all rich cities ever inclines to that kind of government; whether it be, that, where many grow rich, many grow to power, and are harder to be ſubjected; or, where men grow to great poſſeſſions, they grow more intent upon ſafety, and therefore deſire to be governed by laws and magiſtrates of their own choice,

choice, fearing all armed and arbitrary power; or that the ſmall compaſs of cities makes the eaſe and convenience of aſſemblies and councils; or that converſation ſharpens men's wits, and makes too many reaſoners in matters of government.

The contrary of all this happens in countries thin inhabited, and eſpecially in vaſt campania's, ſuch as are extended through Aſia and Afric, where there are few cities beſides what grow by the reſidence of the Kings or their governors. The people are poorer, and, having little to loſe, have little to care for, and are leſs expoſed to the deſigns of power or violence. The aſſembling of perſons, deputed from people at great diſtances one from another, is trouble to them that are ſent, and charge to them that ſend. And, where ambition and avarice have made no entrance, the deſire of leiſure is much more natural, than of buſineſs and care: beſides, men converſing all their lives with the woods and the fields, and the herds, more than with one another, come to know as little as they deſire; uſe their ſenſes a great deal more than their reaſons; examine not the nature or the tenure of power and authority; find only they are fit to obey, becauſe they are not fit to govern; and ſo come to ſubmit to the will of him they found in power, as they do to the will of heaven, and conſider all changes of conditions, that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill ſeaſons, that happen in the weather and the air.

It may be ſaid further, that, in the more intemperate climates, the ſpirits, either exhaled by heat, or compreſſed by cold, are rendered faint and ſluggiſh; and by that reaſon the men grow tamer, and fitter for ſervitude. That, in more temperate regions, the ſpirits are ſtronger, and more active, whereby men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their liberties.

But

But all government is a reſtraint upon liberty; and, under all, the dominion is equally abſolute where it is in the laſt reſort.

So that when men ſeem to contend for liberty, it is indeed but for the change of thoſe that rule, or for the forms of government they have formerly been uſed to, and (being grown weary of the preſent) now begin to regret; though when they enjoyed them it was not without ſome preſſure and complaint. Nor can it be, in the other caſe, that when vaſt numbers of men ſubmit their lives and fortunes abſolutely to the will of one, it ſhould be want of heart, but muſt be force of cuſtom, or opinion, the true ground and foundation of all government, and that which ſubjects power to authority. For power, ariſing from ſtrength, is always in thoſe that are governed, who are many: but authority, ariſing from opinion, is in thoſe that govern, who are few.

This diſtinction is plain in the forms of the old Roman State, where laws were made, and reſolutions taken, *authoritate ſenatus*, and *juſſu populi*. The ſenate were authors of all counſels in the State; and what was by them conſulted and agreed, was propoſed to the people, by whom it was enacted, or commanded; becauſe in them was the power to make it be obeyed. But the great opinion which the people had at firſt of the perſons of the Senators, and afterwards of their families (which were called Patricians) gained eaſy aſſent to what was thus propoſed, the authority of the perſons adding great weight to the reaſon of the things. And this went ſo far, that though the choice of all magiſtrates was wholly in the people, yet, for a long courſe of years, they choſe none but Patricians into the great offices of State, either civil or military. But when the people began to loſe the general opinion they had of the Patricians, or at leaſt ſo far as to believe ſome among themſelves were as able and fit, as

theſe, to adviſe the State, and lead their armies, they then pretended to ſhare with the Senate in the magiſtracy, and bring in Plebeians to the offices of chiefeſt power and dignity. And hereupon began thoſe ſeditions which ſo long diſtempered, and at length ruined, that State.

AUTHORITY ariſes from the opinion of wiſdom, goodneſs, and valour in the perſons who poſſeſs it.

Wiſdom is that which makes men judge what are the beſt ends, and what the beſt means to attain them; and gives a man advantage among the weak and the ignorant, as ſight among the blind; which is that of counſel and direction: this gives authority to age among the younger, till theſe being at certain years change their opinion of the old, and of themſelves. This gives it more abſolute to a pilot at ſea, whom all the paſſengers ſuffer to ſteer them as he pleaſes.

Goodneſs is that which makes men prefer their duty and their promiſe, before their paſſions or their intereſt; and is properly the object of truſt: in our language, it goes rather by the name of honeſty; though what we call an honeſt man, the Romans called a good man: and honeſty in their language, as well as in French, rather ſignifies a compoſition of thoſe qualities which generally acquire honour and eſteem to thoſe who poſſeſs them.

Valour, as it gives awe, and promiſes protection, to thoſe who want either heart or ſtrength to defend themſelves: this makes the authority of men among women; and that of a maſter-buck in a numerous herd, though perhaps not ſtrong enough for any two of them; but the impreſſion of ſingle fear holds when they are all together, by the ignorance of uniting.

Eloquence,

Eloquence, as it paſſes for a mark of wiſdom; beauty, of goodneſs; and nobility, of valour (which was its original) have likewiſe ever ſome effect upon the opinion of the people; but a very great one when they are really joined with the qualities they promiſe or reſemble.

There is yet another ſource from which uſually ſprings greater authority than from all the reſt; which is the opinion of divine favour or deſignation of the perſons, or of the races that govern. This made the Kings among the heathens ever derive themſelves, or their anceſtors, from ſome God; paſſing thereby for heroes, that is, perſons iſſued from the mixture of divine and human race, and of a middle nature between Gods and men: others joined the mitre to the crown, and thereby the reverence of divine, to the reſpect of civil power. This made the Caliphs of Perſia and Egypt, and the great Emperors of Arabia, derive themſelves by ſeveral branches from their great prophet Mahomet: the Yncas in Peru from the Sun: and the Ottoman race to be adored among the Turks, as deſigned by Heaven for perpetual empire. And the ſacring of the Kings of France (as Loyſel ſays) is the ſign of their ſovereign prieſthood, as well as kingdom; and in the right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant benefices of the church.

Piety, as it is thought a way to the favour of God; and fortune, as it looks like the effect either of that, or at leaſt of prudence and courage, beget authority. As likewiſe ſplendor of living in great palaces, with numerous attendance, much obſervance, and rich habits differing from common men: both as it ſeems to be the reward of thoſe virtues already named, or the effect of fortune; or as it is a mark of being obeyed by many.

From

From all theſe authority ariſes, but is by nothing ſo much ſtrengthened and confirmed as by cuſtom. For no man eaſily diſtruſts the perſons, or diſputes the things, which he and all men that he knows of have been always bred up to obſerve and believe; or, if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to introduce opinions wherein he knows none or few of his mind, and thinks all others will defend thoſe already received: ſo as no man or party can offer at the change of a government eſtabliſhed without firſt gaining new authority by the ſteps already traced out; and in ſome degree debaſing the old by appearance or impreſſions of contrary qualities in thoſe who before enjoyed it. This induces a general change of opinion concerning the perſon or party like to be obeyed or followed by the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of the people: according to which, the power or weakneſs of each is to be meaſured. So as in effect all government may be eſteemed to grow ſtrong or weak, as the general opinion of theſe qualities in thoſe that govern is ſeen to leſſen or increaſe.

And power muſt be allowed to follow authority in all civil bodies; as in natural, the motions of the body follow thoſe of the mind; great numbers ever acting and purſuing what the few (whom they truſt) begin or adviſe.

FROM this principle, and from the diſcovery of ſome natural authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer original of all governments among men, than from any contracts: though theſe be given us by the great writers concerning politics and laws. Some of them lay for their foundation, that men are ſociable creatures, and naturally diſpoſed to live in numbers and troops together. Others, that they are naturally creatures of prey, and in a ſtate of war one upon another;

other; ſo as to avoid confuſion in the firſt caſe, and violence in the other, they found out the neceſſity of agreeing upon ſome orders and rules, by which every man gives up his common right for ſome particular poſſeſſion, and his power to hurt and ſpoil others for the privilege of not being hurt or ſpoiled himſelf. And the agreement upon ſuch orders by mutual contract, with the conſent to execute them by common ſtrength and endeavours, they make to be the riſe of all civil governments.

I know not whether they conſider what it is that makes ſome creatures ſociable, and others live and range more alone, or in ſmaller companies; but I ſuppoſe thoſe creatures whoſe natural and neceſſary food is eaſy and plentiful, as graſs, or plants, or fruits (the common product of the earth) are the ſociable creatures, becauſe, where-ever they go, they uſually find what they want, and enough for them all, without induſtry or contention. And thoſe live more alone, whoſe food (and therefore prey) is upon other ſenſitive creatures, and ſo not attained without purſuit and violence, and ſeldom in ſuch quantities at once, as to ſatisfy the hunger of great numbers together. Yet this does not hold ſo far, but that ravens are ſeen in flocks where a carrion lies, and wolves in herds to run down a deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all; quarrel only when it begins to fail; and when it is ended, they ſcatter to ſeek out new encounters. Beſides, thoſe, called ſociable, quarrel in hunger and in luſt, as well as the others; and the bull and the ram appear then as much in fury and war, as the lion and the bear. So that, if mankind muſt be ranged to one of theſe ſorts, I know not well to which it will be: and conſidering the great differences of cuſtoms and diſpoſitions in ſeveral men, and even in the ſame men at ſeveral times, I very much doubt they muſt be divided into ſeveral forms.

Nor

Nor do I know, if men are like ſheep, why they need any government; or, if they are like wolves, how they can ſuffer it. Nor have I read where the orders of any ſtate have been agreed on by mutual contract among great numbers of men, meeting together in that natural ſtate of war, where every man takes himſelf to have equal right to every thing. But often, where ſuch orders have been invented by the wiſdom, and received by the authority, of ſome one man, under the name of a lawgiver; and where this has not happened, the original of government lies as undiſcovered in ſtory, as that of time: all nations appearing, upon the firſt records that are left us, under the authority of Kings, or Princes, or ſome other magiſtrates.

Beſides, this principle of contract, as the original of government, ſeems calculated for the account given by ſome of the old poets, of the original of man, whom they raiſe out of the ground by great numbers at a time, in perfect ſtature and ſtrength. Whereas, if we deduce the ſeveral races of mankind in the ſeveral parts of the world from generation, we muſt imagine the firſt numbers of them, who in any place agree upon any civil conſtitutions, to aſſemble not as ſo many ſingle heads, but as ſo many heads of families, whom they repreſent, in the framing any compact or common accord; and conſequently, as perſons who have already an authority over ſuch numbers as their families are compoſed of.

For if we conſider a man multiplying his kind by the birth of many children, and his cares by providing even neceſſary food for them, till they are able to do it for themſelves (which happens much later to the generations of men, and makes a much longer dependence of children upon parents, than we can obſerve among any other creatures:) if we conſider not only the cares, but the induſtry he is forced to, for the

the neceſſary ſuſtenance of his helpleſs brood, either in gathering the natural fruits, or raiſing thoſe which are purchaſed with labour and toil; if he be forced for ſupply of this ſtock to catch the tamer creatures, and hunt the wilder, ſometimes to exerciſe his courage in defending his little family, and fighting with the ſtrong and ſavage beaſts (that would prey upon him as he does upon the weak and the mild;) if we ſuppoſe him diſpoſing with diſcretion and order whatever he gets among his children, according to each of their hunger or need, ſometimes laying up for to-morrow what was more than enough for to-day, at other times pinching himſelf, rather than ſuffering any of them ſhould want; and as each of them grows up, and able to ſhare in the common ſupport, teaching him both by leſſon and example, what he is now to do as the ſon of this family, and what hereafter as the father of another; inſtructing them all, what qualities are good, and what are ill, for their health and life, or common ſociety (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally eſteemed virtue or vice among men) cheriſhing and encouraging diſpoſitions to the good; diſfavouring and puniſhing thoſe to the ill; and laſtly, among the various accidents of life, lifting up his eyes to heaven, when the earth affords him no relief; and having recourſe to a higher and a greater nature, whenever he finds the frailty of his own; we muſt needs conclude, that the children of this man cannot fail of being bred up with a great opinion of his wiſdom, his goodneſs, his valour, and his piety. And, if they ſee conſtant plenty in the family, they believe well of his fortune too.

And from all this muſt naturally ariſe a great paternal authority, which diſpoſes his children (at leaſt till the age when they grow fathers themſelves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he adviſes, and obey what he commands.

Thus

Thus the father, by a natural right as well as authority, becomes a governor in this little State; and if his life be long, and his generations many (as well as thoſe of his children) he grows the governor or King of a nation, and is indeed a *pater patriæ*, as the beſt Kings are, and as all ſhould be; and as thoſe, which are not, are yet content to be called. Thus the peculiar compellation of the King, in France, is by the name of *Sire*, which in their ancient language is nothing elſe but father, and denotes the Prince to be the father of the nation. For a nation properly ſignifies a great number of families, derived from the ſame blood, born in the ſame country, and living under the ſame government and civil conſtitutions; as *Patria* does the land of our father, and ſo the Dutch, by expreſſions of dearneſs, inſtead of our country, ſay our father-land. With ſuch nations we find in Scripture all the lands of Judea, and the adjacent territories, were planted of old; with ſuch the many ſeveral provinces of Greece and Italy, when they began firſt to appear upon the records of ancient ſtory or tradition; and with ſuch was the main land of Gaul inhabited in the time of Cæſar; and Germany in that of Tacitus. Such were the many branches of the old Britiſh nation; the Scepts among the Iriſh; and ſuch the infinite variety and numbers of nations in Afric and America upon the firſt diſcoveries, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral names, and living under their ſeveral Kings or Princes, till they came to be ſwallowed up by greater empires.

Theſe ſeem to have been the natural and original governments of the world, ſpringing from a tacit deference of many to the authority of one ſingle perſon. Under him (if the father of the family or nation) the elder of his children comes to acquire a degree of authority among the younger, by the ſame means the father did among them; and to ſhare with him in the conſultation and conduct of their common affairs.

And this, together with an opinion of wiſdom from experience, may have brought in the authority of the elders ſo often mentioned among the Jews; and in general of aged men, not only in Sparta and Rome, but all other places in ſome degree, both civil and barbarous. For the names of Lord, *Signior*, *Seigneur*, *Sennor*, in the Italian, French, and Spaniſh languages, ſeem to have at firſt imported only elder men, who thereby were grown into authority among the ſeveral governments and nations, which ſeated themſelves in thoſe countries upon the fall of the Roman empire.

This perhaps brought in vogue that which is called the authority of the ancients in matters of opinion, though by a miſtaken ſenſe; for I ſuppoſe authority may be reaſonably allowed to the opinion of ancient men in the preſent age; but I know not why it ſhould be ſo to thoſe of men in general that lived in ages long ſince paſt; nor why one age of the world ſhould be wiſer than another; or, if it be, why it ſhould not be rather the latter, than the former, as having the ſame advantage of the general experience of the world, that an old man has of the more particular experiments of life.

THUS a family ſeems to become a little kingdom, and a kingdom to be but a great family.

Nor is it unlikely that this paternal juriſdiction in its ſucceſſions, and with the help of accidents, may have branched out into the ſeveral heads of government commonly received in the ſchools. For a family, governed with order, will fall naturally to the ſeveral trades of huſbandry, which are tillage, gardening, and paſturage (the product whereof was the original riches.) For the managing of theſe and their increaſe, and the aſſiſtance of one man, who perhaps is

is to feed twenty, it may be a hundred children (ſince it is not eaſily told how far generations may extend with the arbitrary choice and numbers of women, practiſed anciently in moſt countries) the uſe of ſervants comes to be neceſſary. Theſe are gained by victory and captives, or by fugitives out of ſome worſe governed family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and ſo ſell their liberty to be aſſured of what is neceſſary to life; or elſe by the debaſed nature of ſome of the children who ſeem born to drudgery, or who are content to increaſe their pains that they may leſſen their cares, and upon ſuch terms become ſervants to ſome of their brothers whom they moſt eſteem or chuſe ſooneſt to live with.

The family, thus increaſed, is ſtill under the father's common, though not equal care; that what is due to the ſervants by contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the portions of the children; and that whatever they acquire by their induſtry or ingenuity (beyond what the maſters expect, or exact from them by the conditions of their ſervitude) ſhould be as much their property as any diviſions of land or of ſtock that are made to the ſons; and the poſſeſſion as ſecure, unleſs forfeited by any demerit or offence againſt the cuſtoms of the family, which grow with time to be the orders of this little State.

Now the father of a family or nation, that uſes his ſervants like children in point of juſtice and care; and adviſes with his children in what concerns the commonweal, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all; is what I ſuppoſe the ſchools mean by a Monarch. And he that by harſhneſs of nature, wilfulneſs of humour, intemperance of paſſions, and arbitrarineſs of commands, uſes his children like ſervants, is what they mean by a Tyrant. And whereas the firſt thought himſelf ſafe in the love and

obedience of his children; the other, knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be ſafe among his children, but by putting arms into the hands of ſuch of his ſervants as he thinks moſt at his will; which is the original of guards. For againſt a foreign enemy, and for defence of evident intereſt, all that can bear arms in a nation are ſoldiers. Their cauſe is common ſafety; their pay is honour; and, when they have purchaſed theſe, they return to their homes and former conditions of peaceable lives. Such were all the armies of Greece and of Rome in the firſt ages of their ſtates. Such were their gens d'ordonnance in France, and the train-bands in England: but ſtanding troops, and in conſtant pay, are properly ſervants armed, who uſe the lance and the ſword, as other ſervants do the ſickle or the bill, at the command and will of thoſe who entertain them. And therefore martial law is of all other the moſt abſolute, and not like the government of a father, but a maſter.

And this brings in another ſort of power diſtinct from that already deſcribed, which follows authority and conſiſts in the willing obedience of the people; but this in the command of ſoldiers, who as ſervants are bound to execute the will and orders of thoſe that lead them. And as authority follows the qualities before-mentioned, ſo this power follows riches, or the opinion of it; a multitude of ſervants being his that is able to maintain them. And theſe kind of forces come to be uſed by good Princes, only upon neceſſity of providing for their defence againſt great and armed neighbours or enemies; but by ill ones as a ſupport of decayed authority, or as they loſe the force of that which is natural and paternal, and ſo grow to ſet up an intereſt of thoſe that govern, different from that of thoſe that are governed, which ought ever to be the ſame.

Yet

Yet this ſeems a much weaker principle of government than the other; for the number of ſoldiers can never be great in proportion to that of people, no more than the number of thoſe that are idle in a country, to that of thoſe who live by labour or induſtry: ſo as if the people come to unite by any ſtrong paſſion, or general intereſt, or under the wiſe conduct of any authority well rooted in their minds, they are maſters of armies. Beſides, the humour of the people runs inſenſibly among the very ſoldiers, ſo as it ſeems much alike to keep off by guards a general infection, or an univerſal ſedition; for the diſtemper in both kinds is contagious, and ſeizes upon the defenders themſelves. Beſides, common pay is a faint principle of courage and action, in compariſon of religion, liberty, honour, revenge, or neceſſity; which make every ſoldier have the quarrel as much at heart as their leaders, and ſeem to have ſpirited all the great actions and revolutions of the world. And, laſtly, without the force of authority this power of ſoldiers grows pernicious to their maſter, who becomes their ſervant, and is in danger of their mutinies as much as any government can be of the ſeditions of a people.

If the father of our family-govern it with prudence, goodneſs, and ſucceſs, and his eldeſt ſon appear heir to the virtues and worth of his father, he ſucceeds in the government by a natural right, and by the ſtrength of an authority both derived from his father, and acquired by his own perſonal qualities: but if either the eldeſt ſon, by qualities degenerate and ill, happen to loſe all truſt and opinion (and thereby authority) in the family; or elſe to die before his time, and leave a child in his room; when the father comes to fail, then the children fall into counſels of election, and either prefer the eldeſt of the ſons then living, or perhaps one later, and ſo remoter in birth, according as he may have acquired authority by thoſe qualities which

naturally produce it, and promiſe the beſt conduct and protection to the common affairs of the family.

Where the father comes to loſe his authority, many of the elder, or wiſer, of the ſons increaſe in theirs by the ſame degree; and when both theſe arrive at a certain height, the nature of the government is ready for a change; and upon the father's death, or general defection of the family, they ſucceed in his authority, whilſt the humour of the whole body runs againſt the ſucceſſion or election of any ſingle perſon, which they are grown weary of by ſo late an example; and thus comes in what they call an Ariſtocracy. But authority contracting itſelf (as it ſeems natural to do till it ends in a point or ſingle perſon) this government falls ſometimes into the hands of a few, who eſtabliſh it in their families; and that is called an Oligarchy. If the authority come to be loſt in either of theſe forms, while the children of the family grow into the manners and qualities, and perhaps into the condition and poverty, of ſervants; and while many of the ſervants, by induſtry and virtue, arrive at riches and eſteem; then the nature of the government inclines to a Democracy, or popular State, which is neareſt confuſion, or Anarchy; and often runs into it, unleſs upheld or directed by the authority of one, or of ſome few in the State, though perhaps without titles, or marks of an extraordinary office or dignity.

GOVERNMENTS, founded upon contract, may have ſucceeded thoſe founded upon authority: but the firſt of them ſhould rather ſeem to have been agreed between Princes and ſubjects, than between men of equal rank and power. For the original of ſubjection was, I ſuppoſe, when one nation warring againſt another (for things neceſſary to life, or for women, or for extent of land) overcame their enemies; if

if they only won a battle, and put their enemies to flight, thoſe they took priſoners became their ſlaves, and continued ſo in their generations, unleſs infranchiſed by their maſters: but if, by great ſlaughter, or frequent victories, they ſubdued the very courages of their enemies, while great numbers of them remained alive; then the vanquiſhed nation became ſubject to the conquerors by agreement, and upon certain conditions of ſafety and protection, and perhaps equal enjoyment of liberties and cuſtoms with the common natives under the other government: if, by ſuch frequent ſucceſſes and additions, a nation extended itſelf over vaſt tracts of land and numbers of people, it thereby arrived in time at the ancient name of kingdom, or modern of empire.

After ſuch a victory, the chiefeſt of the conquering nations become rich and great upon the diviſions of lands, of ſpoils, and of ſlaves: by all which they grow into power, are Lords in their own lands, and over thoſe that inhabit them, with certain rights or juriſdictions, and upon certain homages reſerved to the Prince. The cuſtom of employing theſe great perſons in all great offices and councils grows to paſs for a right; as all cuſtom does with length and force of time.

The Prince that governs according to the conditions of ſubjection at firſt agreed upon (of which uſe is the authentic record) and according to the ancient cuſtoms, which are the original laws (and by which the right of ſucceſſion in the Crown, as well as private inheritance and common juſtice, is directed and eſtabliſhed) is called a lawful ſovereign; he that breaks and violates theſe ancient conſtitutions (eſpecially that of ſucceſſion) is termed an uſurper.

A free nation is that which has never been conquered, or thereby entered into any conditions of ſubjection; as the Romans were, before they were ſub-

dued by the Goths and Vandals; and as the Turks ſeem to be at this time, who, having been called from Scythia to aſſiſt the Grecian empire againſt that of the Saracens, made themſelves maſters of both.

In countries ſafer from foreign invaſions either by ſeas or rivers, by mountains and paſſes, or great tracts of rough, barren, and uninhabited lands, people lived generally in ſcattered dwellings, or ſmall villages: but, where invaſion is eaſy, and paſſage open, and bordering nations are great and valiant; men croud together, and ſeek their ſafety from numbers better united, and from walls and other fortifications, the uſe whereof is to make the few a match for the many, ſo as they may fight or treat on equal terms. And this is the original of cities; but the greatneſs and riches of them increaſe according to the commodiouſneſs of their ſituation, in fertile countries, or upon rivers and havens, which ſurpaſs the greateſt fertility of any ſoil, in furniſhing plenty of all things neceſſary to life or luxury.

When families meet together, ſurround themſelves by walls, fall into order and laws (either invented by the wiſdom of ſome one, or ſome few men, and from the evidence of their public utility received by all; or elſe introduced by experience and time) and theſe cities preſerve themſelves in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions, and obſervance of their inſtitutions againſt all invaſions; and never are forced to ſubmit to the will of any conqueror, or condition of any abſolute ſubjection; they are called free cities; and of ſuch there were many of old, in Greece and Sicily, deducing their original from ſome one founder or lawgiver: and are many now in Germany ſubject to no laws but their own, and thoſe of the Empire, which is an union of many ſovereign powers, by whoſe general conſent in their diets all its conſtitutions are framed and eſtabliſhed.

Common-

Commonwealths were nothing more in their original, but free cities, though ſometimes by force of orders and diſcipline, or of a numerous and valiant people, they have extended themſelves into mighty dominions; and often, by ſituation and trade, grow to vaſt riches, and thereby to great power, by force of mercenary arms. And theſe ſeem to be more artificial, as thoſe of a ſingle perſon the more natural, governments; being forced to ſupply the want of authority by wiſe inventions, orders, and inſtitutions.

For authority can never be ſo great in many as in one, becauſe the opinion of thoſe qualities, which acquire it, cannot be equal in ſeveral perſons.

Theſe governments ſeem to be introduced, either by the wiſdom and moderation of ſome one lawgiver, who has authority enough with the people, to be followed and obſerved in all his orders and advices; and yet prefer that which he eſteems public utility, before any intereſt or greatneſs of his own (ſuch were Lycurgus in Sparta, and Solon in Athens, and Timoleon in Syracuſe:) or elſe by the confluence of many families out of ſome countries expoſed to ſome fierce or barbarous invaſions, into places fortified by nature, and ſecure from the fury and miſery of ſuch conqueſts (ſuch were Rhodes of old, and ſeveral ſmall iſlands upon the coaſts of Ionia; and ſuch was Venice, founded upon the inundation of the barbarous nations over Italy:) or laſtly, by the ſuppreſſion and extinction of ſome tyranny, which, being thrown off by the violent indignation of an oppreſſed people, makes way for a popular government, or at leaſt ſome form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and deteſted: ſuch were Rome upon the expulſion of the Tarquins, and the United Provinces upon their revolt from Spain. Yet are none of theſe forms to be raiſed or upheld without the influence of authority, acquired by the force of opinion of thoſe virtues above-mentioned, which concurred

concurred in Brutus among the Romans, and in Prince William of Orange among thoſe of the Netherlands.

I will not enter into the arguments or compariſons of the ſeveral forms of government that have been, or are in the world; wherein that cauſe ſeems commonly the better, that has the better advocate, or is advantaged by freſher experience, and impreſſions of good or evil, from any of the forms among thoſe that judge: they have all their heights and their falls, their ſtrong and weak ſides; are capable of great perfections, and ſubject to great corruptions; and though the preference ſeem already decided in what has been ſaid of a ſingle perſon being the original and natural government; and that it is capable of the greateſt authority (which is the foundation of all eaſe, ſafety, and order in the governments of the world) yet it may perhaps be the moſt reaſonably concluded, That thoſe forms are beſt, which have been longeſt received and authorized in a nation by cuſtom and uſe; and into which the humours and manners of the people run with the moſt general and ſtrongeſt current.

Or elſe, that thoſe are the beſt governments, where the beſt men govern; and that the difference is not ſo great in the forms of magiſtracy, as in the perſons of magiſtrates; which may be the ſenſe of what was ſaid of old (taking wiſe and good men to be meant by philoſophers) that the beſt governments were thoſe, where Kings were philoſophers, or philoſophers Kings.

THE ſafety and firmneſs of any frame of government may be beſt judged by the rules of Architecture, which teach us that the Pyramid is of all figures the firmeſt, and leaſt ſubject to be ſhaken or overthrown by any concuſſions or accidents from the earth or air; and it grows ſtill ſo much the firmer, by

by how much broader the bottom and ſharper the top.

The ground, upon which all government ſtands, is the conſent of the people, or the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of them; whether this proceed from reflexions upon what is paſt, by the reverence of an authority under which they and their anceſtors have for many ages been born and bred; or from a ſenſe of what is preſent, by the eaſe, plenty, and ſafety they enjoy; or from opinions of what is to come, by the fear they have from the preſent government, or hopes from another. Now that government which by any of theſe, or all theſe ways, takes in the conſent of the greateſt number of the people, and conſequently their deſires and reſolutions to ſupport it, may juſtly be ſaid to have the broadeſt bottom, and to ſtand upon the largeſt compaſs of ground; and, if it terminate in the authority of one ſingle perſon, it may likewiſe be ſaid to have the narroweſt top, and ſo to make the figure of the firmeſt ſort of pyramid.

On the contrary, a government which by alienating the affections, loſing the opinions, and croſſing the intereſts of the people, leaves out of its compaſs the greateſt part of their conſent, may juſtly be ſaid, in the ſame degrees it thus loſes ground, to narrow its bottom: and if this be done to ſerve the ambition, humour the paſſion, ſatisfy the appetites, or advance the power and intereſts not only of one man, but of two, or more, or many that come to ſhare in the government; by this means the top may be juſtly ſaid to grow broader, as the bottom narrower by the other. Now by the ſame degrees that either of theſe happen, the ſtability of the figure is by the ſame leſſened and impaired; ſo as at certain degrees it begins to grow ſubject to accidents of wind and weather; and at certain others, it is ſure to fall of itſelf, or by the leaſt ſhake that happens to the ground.

By

By theſe meaſures it will appear, that a monarchy where the Prince governs by the affections, and according to the opinions and intereſts, of his people, or the bulk of them (that is, by many degrees the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of them) makes of all others the ſafeſt and firmeſt government: and on the contrary, a popular State which is not founded in the general humours and intereſt of the people, but only of the perſons who ſhare in the government, or depend upon it, is of all others the moſt uncertain, unſtable, and ſubject to the moſt frequent and eaſy changes.

That a monarchy the leſs it takes in of the people's opinions and intereſts, and the more it takes in of the paſſions and intereſt of particular men (beſides thoſe of the Prince, and contrary to thoſe of the people) the more unſtable it grows, and the more endangered by every ſtorm in the air, or every ſhake of the earth: and a commonwealth, the more it takes in of the general humour and bent of the people, and the more it ſpires up to a head by the authority of ſome one perſon founded upon the love and eſteem of the people; the firmer it ſtands, and leſs ſubject to danger or change by any concuſſions of earth or of air.

'Tis true that a pyramid reverſed may ſtand a while upon its point, if balanced by admirable ſkill. and held up by perpetual care, and there be a calm in the air about it: nay, if the point be very hard and ſtrong, and the ſoil very yielding and ſoft, it may pierce into the ground with time, ſo as to grow the firmer the longer it ſtands: but this laſt can never happen if either the top of the figure be weak or ſoft, or if the ſoil be hard and rough; and at the beſt it is ſubject to be overthrown, if not by its own weight, yet whenever any foreign weight ſhall chance to fall upon any part of it; and the firſt muſt overturn whenever there happens any unequality in the balance, or any negligence in the hands that ſet it up; and, even without

without either of thoſe, whenever there ariſes any violence to ſhake it, either from the winds abroad, or thoſe in the bowels of the earth where it ſtands.

I will not pretend from this ſcheme to preſage or judge of the future events that may attend any governments; which is the buſineſs of thoſe that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other deſigns than that alone of diſcovering and clearing truth: but I think any man may deduce from it the cauſes of the ſeveral revolutions we may find upon record to have happened in the governments of the world; except ſuch as have been brought about by the unreſiſtable force and conqueſts of ſome nations over others whom they very much ſurmounted in ſtrength, courage, and numbers: yet the brave, long, and almoſt incredible defences that have ſtill been made by thoſe governments, which were rooted in the general affections, eſteem, and intereſts of the nation, make it ſeem probable that almoſt all the conqueſts we read of have been made way for, or in ſome meaſure facilitated, if not aſſiſted, by the weakneſs of the conquered government, grown from the diſeſteem, diſſatisfaction, or indifferency of the people; or from thoſe vicious and effeminate conſtitutions of body and mind among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt air of a weak or looſe, a vicious or a factious State; and ſuch can never be ſtrong in the hearts of the people, nor conſequently firm upon that which is the true bottom of all governments in the world.

Thus the ſmall Athenian State reſiſted with ſucceſs the vaſt power and forces of the Perſians in the time of Miltiades and Themiſtocles; Rome thoſe of the Gauls in the time of Camillus, and the vaſt armies collected from Afric, Spain, and the greateſt part of Italy, in the Carthaginian wars (under the conduct of ſeveral great Captains, but chiefly Fabius and Scipio:) the little principality of Epire was invincible by the whole power

power of the Turks in three ſeveral invaſions under their Prince Caſtriot (commonly called Scanderbeg:) the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo, by all the wars of the Moors or Saracens for many ages; the State of Venice, by thoſe of the Turks: the Switzers, by the power of the Emperors; and the Hollanders by that of Spain; becauſe in all theſe wars the people were both united and ſpirited by the common love of their country, their liberty, or religion, or by the more particular eſteem and love of their Princes and leaders.

In the conqueſt of the Lydians by Cyrus, and the Perſians by Alexander; of the great Aſian and Egyptian Kings by the Roman State; and of all the Roman provinces by the ſeveral Northern (or, as they were uſually called, barbarous) nations; of the Spaniards by the Moors; the Gauls by the Franks; and of our ancient Britons by the Saxons; it is eaſy and obvious to obſerve that the reſiſtances were rendered faint and weak, either by the ſoft and effeminate diſpoſitions of the people grown up under the eaſineſs, or examples of vicious or luxurious Princes whom they neither honour nor willingly obey; or elſe by the common hatred and diſdain of their preſent ſervitude, which they were content to change for any other that came in their way; or laſtly, by the diſtracted factions of a diſcontented nation, who agreed in no one common deſign or defence; nor under any authority grounded upon the general love or eſteem of the people.

Of inſtability and changes of government arrived by narrowing their bottoms, which are the conſent and concurrence of the people's affections and intereſts, all ſtories and ages afford continual example. From hence proceeded the frequent tumults, ſeditions, and alterations in the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, as often as either by the charms of orators, or the ſway of men grown to unuſual power and riches, the governments were engaged in counſels or actions contra-

ry

ry to the general intereſts of the people. Hence the ſeveral violent changes that have arrived in the races or perſons of the Princes of England, France, or Spain: nor has the force hereof appeared any where more viſible than in France, during the reign of Henry III. and a conſtant ſucceſſion of minions (as they were then called) where all was conducted by the private paſſions, humours, and intereſts of a few perſons in ſole confidence with the King, contrary to thoſe more public and current of the people; till he came to loſe at firſt all eſteem, and afterwards obedience, and, at laſt, his life in the troubles given him by the League.

That government was in the ſame manner expoſed to the dominion of ſucceeding favourites during the regency of the Queen-mother, in the minority of Lewis XIII. which occaſioned perpetual commotions in that State, and changes in the miniſtry; and would certainly have produced thoſe in the government too, if Richlieu, having gained the abſolute aſcendant in that Court, had not engaged in the deſigns, at firſt, of a war upon the Hugonots, and, after that was ended, upon Spain; in both which he fell in with the current humour and diſpoſitions of the people; which, with the proſperous ſucceſſes of both thoſe enterpriſes, helped to bear up him and the government againſt all the hatred and continual practices of the great ones in the kingdom.

But the two freſheſt examples may be drawn from the revolutions of England in the year ſixty, and of Holland in ſeventy-two. In the firſt, the uſurped powers, that had either deſigned no root, or at leaſt drawn none but only in the affections and intereſts of thoſe that were engaged with the government; thought themſelves ſecure in the ſtrength of an unfoiled army of above ſixty thouſand men, and in a revenue proportionable, raiſed by the awe of their forces, though with the mock-forms of legal ſupplies by pretended

tended Parliaments; yet we ſaw them forced to give way to the bent and current humour of the people, in favour of their ancient and lawful government; and this mighty army, of a ſudden, loſe their heart and their ſtrength, abandon what they had ſo long called their cauſe and their intereſt, and content themſelves to be moulded again into the maſs of the people; and, by conſpiring with the general humour of the nation, make way for the King's glorious reſtoration without a drop of blood drawn in the end of a quarrel, the beginning and courſe whereof had been ſo fatal to the kingdom.

For the other in Holland, the conſtitution of their government had continued twenty years in the hands of their popular magiſtrates, after the excluſion or intermiſſion of the authority of the houſe of Orange, upon the death of the laſt Prince, and infancy of this. The chief direction of their affairs had for eighteen years lain conſtantly in the hands of their Penſioner De Witt, a miniſter of the greateſt authority and ſufficiency, the greateſt application and induſtry that was ever known in their State. In the courſe of his miniſtry, he and his party had reduced not only all the civil charges of the government in his Province, but in a manner all the military commands in the army, out of the hands of perſons affectionate to the houſe of Orange, into thoſe eſteemed ſure and faſt to the intereſts of their more popular State. And all this had been attended, for ſo long a courſe of years, with the perpetual ſucceſs of their affairs, by the growth of their trade, riches, and power at home, and the conſideration of their neighbours abroad: yet the general humour of kindneſs in the people to their own form of government, under the Princes of Orange, grew up with the age and virtues of the young Prince, ſo as to raiſe the proſpect of ſome unavoidable revolutions among them, for ſeveral years before it arrived.

And

And we have ſeen it grow to that heighth in this preſent year, upon the Prince's coming to the two and twentieth of his age (the time aſſigned him by their conſtitutions for his entering upon the public charges of their milice) that, though it had found them in peace, it muſt have occaſioned ſome violent ſedition in their State: but, meeting with the conjuncture of a foreign invaſion, it broke out into ſo furious a rage of the people, and ſuch general tumults through the whole country, as ended in the blood of their chief miniſters; in the diſplacing all that were ſuſpected to be of their party throughout the government; in the full reſtitution of the Prince's authority to the higheſt point any of his anceſtors ever enjoyed; but, withal, in ſuch a diſtraction of their counſels, and their actions, as made way for the eaſy ſucceſſes of the French invaſion, for the loſs of almoſt five of their Provinces in two months time, and for the general preſages of utter ruin to their State.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

UNITED PROVINCES

OF THE

NETHERLANDS.

PREFACE.

HAVING lately seen the State of the United Provinces, after a prodigious growth in riches, beauty, extent of commerce, and number of inhabitants, arrived at length to such a height (by the strength of their natives, their fortified towns and standing-forces, with a constant revenue proportioned to the support of all this greatness) as made them the envy of some, the fear of others, and the wonder of all their neighbours:

We have, this summer past, beheld the same State, in the midst of great appearing safety, order, strength, and vigour, almost ruined and broken to pieces in some few days, and by very few blows; and reduced in a manner to its first principles of weakness and distress; exposed, oppressed, and very near at mercy: their inland provinces swallowed up by an invasion, almost as sudden, and unresisted,

ſiſted, as the inundations to which the others are ſubject: and the remainders of their State rather kept alive by neglect or diſconcert of its enemies, than by any ſtrength of nature, or endeavours at its own recovery.

Now, becauſe ſuch a greatneſs, and ſuch a fall of this State, ſeem revolutions unparalleled in any ſtory, and hardly conceived even by thoſe who have lately ſeen them; I thought it might be worth an idle man's time to give ſome account of the riſe and progreſs of this commonwealth, the cauſes of their greatneſs, and the ſteps towards their fall: which were all made by motions, perhaps little taken notice of by common eyes, and almoſt undiſcernible to any man that was not placed to the beſt advantage, and ſomething concerned, as well as much inclined, to obſerve them.

The uſual duty of employments abroad, impoſed not only by cuſtom, but by orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare ſome formal account of this country and government, after two years embaſſy in the midſt of ſo great conjunctures and negotiations among them. And ſuch a revolution as has ſince happened there, though it may have made theſe diſcourſes little important to his Majeſty, or his council; yet it will not have rendered them leſs agreeable to common eyes, who, like men that live near the ſea, will run out upon the cliffs to gaze at it in a ſtorm, though they would not look out of their windows to ſee it in a calm.

Beſides, at a time when the actions of this ſcene take up ſo generally, the eyes and diſcourſes of their neighbours, and the maps of their country grow ſo much in requeſt; I thought a map of their State and government would not be unwelcome to the world, ſince it is full as neceſſary as the others to underſtand the late revolutions and changes among them. And as no man's ſtory can be well written till he is dead; ſo the account of this State could not be well given till its fall, which may juſtly be dated from the events of laſt ſummer (whatever fortunes may further attend them) ſince therein we have ſeen the ſudden and vi-

olent diſſolution of that more popular government, which had continued, and made ſo much noiſe, for above twenty years, in the world, without the exerciſe or influence of the authority of the Princes of Orange, a part ſo eſſential in the firſt conſtitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly loſe my pains in this adventure, when I ſhall gain the eaſe of anſwering this way, at once, thoſe many queſtions I have lately been uſed to upon this occaſion: which made me firſt obſerve, and wonder, how ignorant we were, generally, in the affairs and conſtitutions of a country, ſo much in our eye, the common road of our travels, as well as ſubject of our talk, and which we have been, of late, not only curious, but concerned, to know.

I am very ſenſible, how ill a trade it is to write, where much is ventured, and little can be gained; ſince whoever does it ill, is ſure of contempt; and the juſtlieſt that can be, when no man provokes him to diſcover his own follies, or to trouble the world. If he writes well, he raiſes the envy of thoſe wits that are poſſeſſed of the vogue, and are jealous of their preferment there, as if it were in love, or in ſtate; and have found, that the neareſt way to their own reputation lies, right or wrong, by the deriſion of other men. But, however, I am not in pain; for it is the affectation of praiſe, that makes the fear of reproach; and I write without other deſign than of entertaining very idle men, and, among them, myſelf. For I muſt confeſs, that being wholly uſeleſs to the public, and unacquainted with the cares of increaſing riches (which buſy the world;) being grown cold to the pleaſures of younger or livelier men; and having ended the entertainments of building and planting, (which uſe to ſucceed them;) finding little taſte in common converſation, and trouble in much reading, from the care of my eyes ſince an illneſs contracted by many unneceſſary diligences in my employments abroad: there can hardly be found an idler man than I, nor, conſequently, one more excuſable for giving way to ſuch amuſements as this: having nothing to do, but to enjoy the eaſe of a private life and fortune,

fortune, which, as I know no man envies, so, I thank God, no man can reproach.

I am not ignorant, that the vein of reading never ran lower than in this age; and seldom goes farther than the design of raising a stock to furnish some calling or conversation: the desire of knowledge being either laughed out of doors by the wit that pleases the age, or beaten out by interest that so much possesses it; and the amusement of books giving way to the liberties or refinements of pleasure that were formerly less known, or less avowed than now. Yet some there will always be found in the world, who ask no more at their idle hours, than to forget themselves; and whether that be brought about by drink or play, by love or business, or by some diversions as idle as this, it is all a case.

Besides, it may possibly fall out, at one time or other, that some Prince, or great Minister, may not be ill pleased in these kind of memorials (upon such a subject) to trace the steps of trade and riches, of order and power in a State, and those likewise of weak or violent counsels, of corrupt or ill conduct, of faction or obstinacy, which decay and dissolve the firmest governments; that so, by reflections upon foreign events, they may provide the better and the earlier against those at home, and raise their own honour and happiness by equal degrees with the prosperity and safety of the nations they govern.

For, under favour of those who would pass for wits in our age, by saying things which, David tells us, the fool said in his; and set up with bringing those wares to market, which, God knows, have been always in the world, though kept up in corners, because they used to mark their owners, in former ages, with the names of buffoons, profane or impudent men who deride all form and order, as well as piety and truth, and, under the notion of fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the very bonds of all civil society, though by the favour and protection thereof they themselves enjoy so much greater proportions of wealth and of pleasures, than would fall to their share if all lay in com-

mon, as they seem to design (for then such possessions would belong of right to the strongest and bravest among us.)

Under favour of such men, I believe it will be found, at one time or other, by all who shall try, that, whilst human nature continues what it is, the same orders in State, the same discipline in armies, the same reverence for things sacred and respect of civil institutions, the same virtues and dispositions of Princes or Magistrates, derived, by interest or imitation, into the customs and humours of the people, will ever have the same effects upon the strength and greatness of all governments, and upon the honour and authority of those that rule, as well as the happiness and safety of those that obey.

Nor are we to think Princes themselves losers, or less entertained, when we see them employ their time and their thoughts in so useful speculations, and to so glorious ends: but that rather thereby they attain their true prerogative of being happier, as well as greater, than subjects can be. For all the pleasures of sense that any man can enjoy, are within the reach of a private fortune and ordinary contrivance; grow fainter with age, and duller with use; must be revived with intermissions, and wait upon the returns of appetite, which are no more at call of the rich than the poor. The flashes of wit and good humour that rise from the vapours of wine, are little different from those that proceed from the heats of blood in the first approaches of fevers or frenzies, and are to be valued, but as (indeed) they are, the effects of distemper. But the pleasures of imagination, as they heighten and refine the very pleasures of sense, so they are of larger extent, and longer duration; and if the most sensual man will confess there is a pleasure in pleasing he must likewise allow there is good to a man's self in doing good to others: and the further this extends, the higher it rises, and the longer it lasts. Besides, there is beauty in order, and there are charms in well-deserved praise: and both are the greater, by how much greater the subject; as the first appearing in a well-

a well-framed and well-governed State, and the other arising from noble and generous actions. Nor can any veins of good humour be greater than those that swell by the success of wise counsels, and by the fortunate events of public affairs; since a man that takes pleasure in doing good to ten thousand, must needs have more, than he that takes none but in doing good to himself.

But these thoughts lead me too far, and to little purpose; therefore I shall leave them for those I had first in my head, concerning the State of the United Provinces.

And whereas the greatness of their strength and revenues grew out of the vastness of their trade, into which their religion, their manners and dispositions, their situation, and the form of their government, were the chief ingredients; and this last had been raised, partly upon an old foundation, and partly with materials brought together by many and various accidents: it will be necessary, for the survey of this great frame, to give some account of the rise and progress of their State, by pointing out the most remarkable occasions of the first, and periods of the other; to discover the nature and constitutions of their government in its several parts, and the motions of it, from the first and smallest wheels; to observe what is peculiar to them in their situation or dispositions, and what in their religion; to take a survey of their trade, and the causes of it; of the forces and revenues which composed their greatness, and the circumstances and conjunctures which conspired to their fall. And these are the heads that shall make the order and arguments in the several parts of these Observations.

CHAP. I.

Of the rise and progress of the United Provinces.

WHoever will take a view of the rise of this commonwealth, must trace it up as high as the first commotions in the Seventeen Provinces under the Duchess of Parma's government, and the true causes of that more avowed and general revolt in the Duke of Alva's time: and, to find out the natural springs of those revolutions, must reflect upon that sort of government under which the inhabitants of those provinces lived for so many ages past, in the subjection of their several Dukes or Counts, till, by marriages, successions, or conquest, they came to be united in the house of Burgundy, under Philip surnamed The Good: and afterwards in that of Austria, under Philip father of Charles the fifth; and lastly, in the person of that great Emperor incorporated with those vast dominions of Germany and Spain, Italy and the Indies.

Nor will it be from the purpose, upon this search, to run a little higher into the antiquities of these countries; for though most men are contented only to see a river as it runs by them, and talk of the changes in it as they happen; when it is troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the country in a flood, or forsakes it in a drought: yet he that would know the nature of the water, and the causes of those accidents, (so as to guess at their continuance or return) must find out its source, and observe with what strength it rises, what length it runs, and how many small streams fall in, and feed it to such a height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the eye, and useful or dangerous to the country about it.

The numbers and fury of the northern nations, under

der many different names, having by ſeveral inundations broken down the whole frame of the Roman empire (extended in their provinces as far as the Rhine) either gave a birth, or made way for the ſeveral kingdoms and principalities that have ſince continued in the parts of Europe on this ſide that river, which made the ancient limits of the Gallick and German nations. The tract of land, which we uſually call the Low-Countries, was ſo waſted by the invaſions or marches of this raging people (who paſſed by them to greater conqueſts) that the inhabitants grew thin; and, being ſecure of nothing they poſſeſſed, fell to ſeek the ſupport of their lives, rather by hunting, or by violence, than by labour and induſtry; and thereby the grounds came to be uncultivated, and in the courſe of years turned either to foreſt, or marſhes; which are the two natural ſoils of all deſolated lands in the more temperate regions. For by ſoaking of frequent ſhowers, and the courſe of waters from the higher into lower grounds, when there is no iſſue that helps them to break out into a channel, the fat land grows to be a mixture of earth and water, and neither of common uſe nor paſſage to man or beaſt, which is called a marſh. The higher, and ſo the drier parts, moiſtened by the rain, and warmed by the ſun, ſhoot forth ſome ſorts of plants, as naturally as bodies do ſome ſorts of hair, which being preſerved by the deſolateneſs of a place untrodden, as well as untilled, grow to ſuch trees or ſhrubs as are natural to the ſoil; and thoſe in time, producing both food and ſhelter for ſeveral kind of beaſts, make the ſort of country we call a Foreſt.

And ſuch was Flanders for many years before Charlemaign's time, when the power of the Francs, having raiſed and eſtabliſhed a great kingdom of their own, upon the entire conqueſt of Gaul, began to reduce the diſorders of that country to the form of a civil, or (at leaſt)

leaſt) military government; to make diviſions and diſtributions of lands and juriſdictions, by the bounty of the Prince, or the ſervices of his chief followers and commanders: to one of whom a great extent of this land was given, with the title of Foreſter of Flanders. This office continued for ſeveral deſcents, and began to civilize the country, by repreſſing the violence of robbers and ſpoilers, who infeſted the woody and faſt places, and by encouraging the milder people to fall into civil ſocieties, to truſt to their induſtry for ſubſiſtance, to laws for protection, and to their arms united under the care and conduct of their governors, for ſafety and defence.

In the time of Charlemaign, as ſome write, or, as others, in that of Charles the Bald, Flanders was erected into a county, which changed the title of Foreſter for that of Count, without interrupting the ſucceſſion.

What the extent of this county was at firſt, or how far the juriſdiction of Foreſters reached, I cannot affirm; nor whether it only bordered upon, or included the lower parts of the vaſt woods of Ardenne, which, in Charlemaign's time, was all foreſt as far as Aix, and the rough country for ſome leagues beyond it, and was uſed commonly by that Emperor for his hunting: this appears by the ancient records of that city, which attribute the diſcovery, or, at leaſt, retrieving the knowledge of thoſe hot baths, to the fortune of that Prince while he was hunting: for his horſe, poching one of his legs into ſome hollow ground, made way for the ſmoking water to break out, and gave occaſion for the Emperor's building that city, and making it his uſual ſeat, and the place of coronation for the following Emperors.

Holland, being an iſland made by the dividing branches of the ancient Rhine, and called formerly Batavia, was eſteemed rather a part of Germany than Gaul (between which it was ſeated) in regard of its being

being planted by the Catti, a great and ancient people of Germany, and was treated by the Romans rather as an allied than ſubjected province; who drew from thence no other tribute beſides bands of ſoldiers much eſteemed for their valour, and joined as auxiliaries to their legions in their Gallic, German, and Britiſh wars.

It is probable, this iſland changed in a great meaſure inhabitants and cuſtoms, as well as names, upon the inroads of the barbarous nations, but chiefly of the Normans and Danes, from whoſe countries and language the names of Holland and Zealand ſeem to be derived. But, about the year 860, a ſon of the Count of Frize, by a daughter of the Emperor Lewis II, was by him inſtituted Count of Holland, and gave beginning to that title; which, running ſince that time through ſo many direct or collateral ſucceſſions and ſome uſurpations, came to an end at laſt in Philip II. King of Spain, by the defection of the United Provinces.

Under theſe firſt Foreſters and Counts (who began to take thoſe waſted countries and mixed people into their care, and to intend the growth, ſtrength, and riches of their ſubjects, which they eſteemed to be their own) many old and demoliſhed caſtles were rebuilt, many new ones erected, and given by the Princes to thoſe of their ſubjects or friends whom they moſt loved or eſteemed, with large circuits of land for their ſupport, and ſeigneurial juriſdiction over the inhabitants; and this upon ſeveral eaſy conditions, but chiefly of attendance on their Prince at the neceſſary times of either honouring him in peace, or ſerving him in war. Nay poſſibly, ſome of thoſe ſeigneuries and their juriſdictions may, as they pretend, have been the remains of ſome old principalities in thoſe countries among the Gallick and German nations, the firſt inſtitutions whereof were loſt in the immenſity of time that preceded the Roman

man discoveries or conquest, and might be derived perhaps from the first paternal dominion, or concurrence of loose people into orderly neighbourhoods, with a deference, if not subjection, to the wisest or bravest among them.

Under the same Counts were either founded or restored many cities and towns; of which the old had their ancient freedoms and jurisdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the new had either the same granted to them by example of the others, or great immunities and privileges for the encouragement of inhabitants to come and people in them: all these constitutions agreeing much in substance, perhaps by imitation, or else by the agreeing nature of the people for whom, or by whom, they were framed, but differing in form according to the difference of their original, or the several natures, customs, and interests of the Princes, whose concessions many of them were, and all their permissions.

Another constitution, which entered deep into their government, may be derived from another source. For those Northern nations, whose unknown language and countries perhaps made them be called Barbarous (though indeed almost all nations out of Italy and Greece were styled so by the Romans) but whose victories in obtaining new seats, and orders in possessing them, might make us allow them for a better policied people, than they appeared by the vastness of their multitude, or the rage of their battles: wherever they passed, and seated their colonies and dominions, they left a constitution which has since been called, in most European languages, the States; consisting of three orders, Noble, Ecclesiastical, and Popular, under the limited principality of one person, with the style of King, Prince, Duke, or Count. The remainders, at least, or traces hereof, appear still in all the principalities founded by those people in Italy, France,

France, and Spain; and were of a piece with the preſent conſtitutions in moſt of the great dominions on the other ſide of the Rhine; and it ſeems to have been a temper firſt introduced by them between the tyranny of the eaſtern kingdoms, and the liberty of the Grecian or Roman commonwealths.

It is true, the Goths were gentiles when they firſt broke into the Roman Empire, till one great ſwarm of this people, upon treaty with one of the Roman Emperors, and upon conceſſions of a great tract of land to be a ſeat for their nation, embraced at once the chriſtian faith. After which, the ſame people breaking out of the limits had been allowed them, and by freſh numbers bearing all down where they beat their march; as they were a great means of propagating religion in many parts of Europe, where they extended their conqueſts; ſo the zeal of theſe new proſelytes, warmed by the veneration they had for their Biſhops and Paſtors, and enriched by the ſpoils and poſſeſſions of ſo vaſt countries, ſeems to have been the firſt that introduced the maintenance of the churches and clergy, by endowments of lands, lordſhips, and vaſſals, appropriated to them; for before this time the authority of the prieſthood in all religions ſeemed wholly to conſiſt in the people's opinion of their piety, learning, or virtues, or a reverence for their character and myſtical ceremonies and inſtitutions; their ſupport, or their revenues, in the voluntary oblations of pious men, the bounty of Princes, or in a certain ſhare out of the labours and gains of thoſe who lived under their cure, and not in any ſubjection of men's lives or fortunes, which belonged wholly to the civil power: and Ammianus, though he taxes the luxury of the Biſhops in Valentinian's time, yet he ſpeaks of their riches, which occaſioned or fomented it, as ariſing wholly from the oblations of the people. But the devotion of theſe new Chriſtians introducing this new form of

endowing their churches; and afterwards Pepin and Charlemaign, Kings of the Francs, upon their victories in Italy, and the favour of the Roman Bishop to their title and arms, having annexed great territories and jurisdictions to that see; this example, or custom, was followed by most Princes of the northern races through the rest of Europe, and brought in to the clergy great possessions of lands, and by a necessary consequence a great share of temporal power, from the dependences of their subjects or tenants; by which means they came to be generally one of the three orders that composed the assembly of the States in every country.

This constitution of the States had been established from time immemorial in the several provinces of the Low Countries, and was often assembled for determining disputes about succession of their Princes, where doubtful or contested; for deciding those between the great towns; for raising a milice for the defence of their country in the wars of their neighbours; for advice in time of dangers abroad, or discontents at home; but always upon the new succession of a Prince, and upon any new impositions that were necessary on the people. The use of this assembly was another of those liberties, whereof the inhabitants of these provinces were so fond and so tenacious. The rest, besides those ancient privileges already mentioned of their towns, were concessions and graces of several Princes; in particular, exemptions or immunities, jurisdiction both in choice and exercise of magistracy and civil judicature within themselves; or else in the customs of using none but natives in charges and offices, and passing all weighty affairs by the great council composed of the great Lords of the country, who were in a manner all temporal, there being but three Bishops in all the Seventeen Provinces till the time of Philip II. of Spain.

The revenues of these Princes consisted in their ancient

cient demesnes, in small customs (which yet grew considerable by the greatness of trade in the maritime towns) and in the voluntary contributions of their subjects, either in the States or in particular cities, according to the necessities of their Prince, or the affections of the people. Now were these frequent; for the forces of these Counts were composed of such Lords, who, either by their governments or other offices, or by the tenure of their lands, were obliged to attend their Prince on horseback, with certain numbers of men upon all his wars: or else of a milice, which was called *Les gens d' ordonnance*, who served on foot, and were not unlike our trained-bands; the use, or at least style, whereof was renewed in Flanders upon the last war with France in 1667, when the Count Egmont was made, by the Governor, General *des gens d' ordonnance.*

These forces were defrayed by the cities or countries, as the others were raised by the Lords when occasion required; and all were licensed immediately when it was past, so that they were of little charge to the Prince. His wars were but with other Princes of his own size, or competitors to his principality; or sometimes with the mutinies of his great towns; short, though violent; and decided by one battle or siege; unless they fell into the quarrels between England and France, and then they were engaged but in the skirts of the war, the gross of it being waged between the two Kings, and these smaller Princes made use of for the credit of alliance, or sometimes the commodiousness of a diversion, rather than for any great weight they made in the main of the affair.

The most frequent wars of the Counts of Holland were with the Frizons, a part of the old Saxons; and the fiercest battles of some of the Counts of Flanders were with the Normans, who passed that way into France, and were the last of those nations that have infested

infested the more southern parts of Europe. I have sometimes thought, how it should have come to pass, that the infinite swarm of that vast northern hive, which so often shook the world like a great tempest, and overflowed it like a great torrent; changing names, and customs, and government, and language, and the very face of nature, wherever they seated themselves; which, upon record of story, under the name of Gauls, pierced into Greece and Italy, sacking Rome, and besieging the Capitol in Camillus's time; under that of the Cimbers, marched through France, to the very confines of Italy, defended by Marius; under that of Hunns or Lombards, Viligoths, Goths, and Vandals, conquered the whole forces of the Roman empire, sacked Rome thrice in a small compass of years, seated their kingdoms in Spain and Afric, as well as Lombardy; and, under that of Danes or Normans, possessed themselves of England, a great part of France, and even of Naples and Sicily: how (I say) these nations, which seemed to spawn in every age, and at some intervals of time discharged their own native countries of so vast numbers, and with such terror to the world, should, about seven or eight hundred years ago, leave off the use of these furious expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill climates. But, I suppose, we owe this benefit wholly to the growth and progress of christianity in the north, by which, early and undistinguished copulation, or multitude of wives, were either restrained or abrogated: by the same means learning and civility got footing among them in some degree, and inclosed certain circuits of those vast regions, by the distinctions and bounds of kingdoms, principalities, or commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder lives, spent without other cares or pleasures, than of food, or of lust; and betook themselves to the

the eaſe and entertainment of ſocieties: with order and labour, riches began, and trade followed; and theſe made way for luxury, and that for many diſeaſes or ill habits of body, which, unknown to the former and ſimple ages, began to ſhorten and weaken both life and procreation. Beſides, the diviſions and circles of dominion occaſioned wars between the ſeveral nations, though of one faith; and thoſe of the Poles, Hungarians, and Muſcovites, with the Turks or Tartars, made greater ſlaughters; and by theſe accidents, I ſuppoſe, the numbers of thoſe fertile broods have been leſſened, and their limits in a meaſure confined; and we have had thereby, for ſo long together, in theſe parts of the world, the honour and liberty of drawing our own blood, upon the quarrels of humour or avarice, ambition or pride, without the aſſiſtance, or need, of any barbarous nations to deſtroy us.

But to end this digreſſion, and return to the Low-Countries, where the government laſted, in the form and manner deſcribed (though in ſeveral principalities) till Philip of Burgundy, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united.

By this great extent of a populous country, and the mighty growth of trade in Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp (attributed by Comines to the goodneſs of the Princes, and eaſe and ſafety of the people) both Philip, and his ſon Charles the Hardy, found themſelves a match for France, then much weakened, as well by the late wars with England, as the factions of their Princes. And in the wars with France was the houſe of Burgundy, under Charles, and Maximilian of Auſtria (who married his daughter and heir) and afterwards under Charles V. their grand-child, almoſt conſtantly engaged; the courſe, ſucceſſes, and revolutions whereof are commonly known.

Philip of Burgundy, who began them, was a good and wiſe Prince, loved by his ſubjects, and eſteemed

by his enemies; and took his measures so well, that, upon the declining of the English greatness abroad by their dissensions at home, he ended his quarrels in France, by a peace, with safety and honour; so that he took no pretence from his greatness, or his wars, to change any thing in the forms of his government: but Charles the Hardy, engaged more rashly against France and the Switzers, began to ask greater and frequent contributions of his subjects; which, gained at first by the credit of his father's government and his own great designs, but spent in an unfortunate war, made his people discontented, and him disesteemed, till he ended an unhappy life, by an untimely death, in the battle of Nancy.

In the time of Maximilian, several German troops were brought down into Flanders, for their defence against France; and in that of Charles V. much greater forces of Spaniards and Italians, upon the same occasion; a thing unknown to the Low-Country-men in the time of their former Princes. But, through the whole course of this Emperor's reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his greatness and fame, increasing together, either diverted or suppressed any discontents of his subjects upon the increase of their payments, or the grievance of so many foreign troops among them. Besides, Charles was of a gentle and a generous nature; and, being born in the Low Countries, was naturally kind and easy to that people, whose customs and language he always used when he was among them, and employed all their great men in the charges of his court, his government, or his armies, through the several parts of his vast dominions; so that, upon the last great action of his life, which was the resignation of his crowns to his son and brother, he left to Philip II. the Seventeen Provinces in a condition as peaceable, and as loyal, as either Prince or subjects could desire.

Philip

Philip II. coming to the possession of so many and great dominions, about the year 1556, after some trial of good and ill fortune in the war with France (which was left him by his father, like an incumbrance upon a great estate) restored, by the peace of Cambray, not only the quiet of his own countries, but in a manner of all Christendom, which was in some degree or other engaged in the quarrel of these Princes. After this, he resolved to return into Spain, and leave the Low-Countries under a subordinate government, which had been till Charles V's time the constant seat of their Princes, and shared the presence of that great Emperor, with the rest of his dominions. But Philip, a Spaniard born, receiving from the climate or education of that country the severeness and gravity of the nation, which the Flemings called reservedness and pride; conferring the offices of his house, and the honour of his council and confidence, upon Spaniards, and thereby introducing their customs, habits, and language into the Court of Flanders; continuing, after the peace, those Spanish and Italian forces, and the demand of supplies from the States which the war had made necessary and the easier supported, he soon left off being loved, and began to be feared, by the inhabitants of those provinces.

But Philip II. thought it not agreeing with the pomp and greatness of the house of Austria, already at the head of so mighty dominions, nor with his designs of a yet greater empire, to consider the discontents or grievances of so small a country; nor to be limited by their ancient forms of government: and therefore, at his departure for Spain, and substitution of his natural sister the Duchess of Parma for Governess of the Low-Countries, assisted by the ministry of Granvell, he left her instructed to continue the foreign troops, and the demand of money from

the States for their ſupport, which was now by a long courſe of war grown cuſtomary among them, and the ſums only diſputed between the Prince and the States; to eſtabliſh the fourteen Biſhops, he had agreed with the Pope, ſhould be added to the three that were anciently in the Low-Countries; to revive the edicts of Charles V. againſt Luther, publiſhed in a diet of the empire about the year 1550, but eluded in the Low-Countries even in that Emperor's time; and thereby to make way for the inquiſition with the ſame courſe it had received in Spain, of which the Lutherans here, and the Moors there, were made an equal pretence. And theſe points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the firſt commotions of men's minds in the Provinces.

The hatred of the people againſt the Spaniards, and the inſolences of thoſe troops, with the charge of their ſupport, made them looked upon by the inhabitants in general, as the inſtruments of their oppreſſion and ſlavery, and not of their defence, when a general peace had left them no enemies: and therefore the States began here their complaints, with a general conſent and paſſion of all the nobles, as well as towns and country. And upon the delays that were contrived, or fell in, the States firſt refuſed to raiſe any more monies, either for the Spaniards pay, or their own ſtanding troops; and the people ran into ſo great deſpair, that in Zealand they abſolutely gave over the working at their digues, ſuffering the ſea to gain every tide upon the country; and reſolving (as they ſaid) rather to be devoured by that element, than by the Spaniſh ſoldiers: ſo that, after many diſputes and intrigues between the Governeſs and the Provinces, the King, upon her remonſtrances, was induced to their removal; which was accordingly performed with great joy and applauſe of the people.

The erecting of fourteen new Biſhops ſees raiſed the

the next conteſt. The great Lords looked upon this innovation as a leſſening of their power, by introducing ſo many new men into the great council. The Abbots (out of whoſe lands they were to be endowed) pleaded againſt it, as a violent uſurpation upon the rights of the Church, and the will of the dead, who had given thoſe lands to a particular uſe. The commons murmured at it, as a new degree of oppreſſion upon their conſcience or liberty, by the erecting ſo many new ſpiritual courts of judicature, and ſo great a number of judges, being ſeventeen for three that were before in the country, and thoſe depending abſolutely upon the Pope, or the King. And all men declaimed againſt it, as a breach of the King's oath, at his acceſſion to the government, for the preſerving the Church and the laws in the ſame ſtate he found them. However this point was gained entirely by the Governeſs, and carried over the head of all oppoſition, though not without leaving a general diſcontent.

In the midſt of theſe ill humours ſtirring in Flanders, the wars of religion breaking out in France drove great numbers of Calviniſts into all thoſe parts of the Low-Countries that confine upon France, as the troubles of Germany had before of Lutherans into the provinces about the Rhine; and the perſecutions under Queen Mary thoſe of the Church of England into Flanders and Brabant, by the great commerce of this kingdom with Bruges and Antwerp.

Theſe accidents and neighbourhoods filled theſe countries, in a ſmall tract of time, with ſwarms of the reformed profeſſors: and the admiration of their zeal, the opinion of their doctrine and piety, the compaſſion of their ſufferings, the infuſion of their diſcontents, or the humour of the age, gained them every day many proſelytes in the Low-Countries, ſome among the nobles, many among the villages, but moſt a-

mong the cities, whoſe trade and riches were much increaſed by theſe new inhabitants; and whoſe intereſt thereby, as well as converſation, drew them on to their favour.

This made work for the inquiſition, though moderately exerciſed by the prudence and temper of the Governeſs, mediating between the rigour of Granvell, in ſtraining up to the higheſt his maſter's authority and the execution of his commands upon all occaſions, and the reſoluteneſs of the Lords of the Provinces to temper the King's edicts, and protect the liberties of their country againſt the admiſſion of this new and arbitrary judicature, unknown to all ancient laws and cuſtoms of the country, and for that not leſs odious to the people, than for the cruelty of their executions. For, before the inquiſition, the care of religion was in the Biſhops, and before that in the civil magiſtrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon angry debates in council, but chiefly upon the univerſal miniſtry of Granvell, a Burgundian of mean birth, grown at laſt to be a Cardinal, and more famous for the greatneſs of his parts, than the goodneſs of his life, the chief Lords of the country (among whom the Prince of Orange, Counts Egmont and Horne, the Marquis of Berghen and Montigny, were moſt conſiderable) grew to ſo violent and implacable an hatred of the Cardinal (whether from paſſion or intereſt) which was ſo univerſally ſpread through the whole body of the people, either by the cauſes of it, or the example, that the Lords firſt refuſed their attendance in council, proteſting, not to endure the ſight of a man ſo abſolute there, and to the ruin of their country: and afterwards petitioned the King, in the name of the whole country, for his removal: upon the delay whereof, and the continuance of the inquiſition, the people appeared, upon daily occaſions and accidents, heated to that degree, as threatened a general

general combuſtion in the whole body whenever the leaſt flame ſhould break out in any part.

But the King at length conſented to Granvell's receſs, by the opinion of the Ducheſs of Parma, as well as the purſuit of the Provinces: whereupon the Lords reaſſumed their places in council; Count Egmont was ſent into Spain to repreſent the grievances of the Provinces; and being favourably diſpatched by the King, eſpecially by remitting the rigour of the edicts about religion and the inquiſition, all noiſe of diſcontent and tumult was appeaſed, the Lords were made uſe of by the Governeſs in the counſel and conduct of affairs, and the Governeſs was by the Lords both obeyed and honoured.

In the beginning of the year 1565, there was a conference at Bayonne between Catherine Queen mother of France and her ſon Charles IX. (though very young) with his ſiſter Iſabella Queen of Spain: in which no other perſon but the Duke of Alva intervened, being deputed thither by Philip, who excuſed his own preſence, and thereby made this interview paſs for an effect or expreſſion of kindneſs between the mother and her children. Whether great reſolutions are the more ſuſpected where great ſecreſy is obſerved, or it be true, what the Prince of Orange affirmed to have by accident diſcovered, that the extirpation of all families, which ſhould profeſs the new religion in the French or Spaniſh dominions, was here agreed on, with mutual aſſiſtance of the two crowns; it is certain, and was owned, that matters of religion were the ſubject of that conference; and that ſoon after, in the ſame year, came letters from King Philip to the Ducheſs of Parma, diſclaiming the interpretation which had been given to his letters by Count Egmont, declaring, his pleaſure was, that all heretics ſhould be put to death without remiſſion; that the Emperor's edicts, and the council of Trent, ſhould be publiſhed and

obſerved; and commanding, that the utmoſt aſſiſtance of the civil power ſhould be given to the inquiſition.

When this was divulged at firſt, the aſtoniſhment was great throughout their provinces; but that ſoon gave way to their rage, which began to appear in their looks, in their ſpeeches, their bold meetings and libels; and was increaſed by the miſerable ſpectacles of ſo many executions upon account of religion: the conſtancy of the ſufferers and compaſſion of the beholders conſpiring generally to leſſen the opinion of guilt or crime, and heighten a deteſtation of the puniſhment, and deſire of revenge againſt the authors of that counſel, of whom the Duke of Alva was eſteemed the chief.

In the beginning of the year 1566, began an open mutiny of the citizens in many towns, hindering executions, and forcing priſons and officers; and this was followed by a confederacy of the Lords, never to ſuffer the inquiſition in the Low-Countries, as contrary to all laws, both ſacred and profane, and exceeding the cruelty of all former tyrannies; upon which, all reſolutions of force or rigour grew unſafe for the government, now too weak for ſuch a revolution of the people; and on the other ſide Brederode, in confidence of the general favour, came at the head of two hundred gentlemen, through the Provinces, to Bruſſels, and in bold terms petitioned the Governeſs for aboliſhing the inquiſition and edicts about religion, and that new ones ſhould be framed by a convention of the States.

The Governeſs was forced to uſe gentle remedies to ſo violent a diſeaſe; to receive the petition without ſhew of the reſentment ſhe had at heart, and to promiſe a repreſentation of their deſires to the King; which was accordingly done: but though the King was ſtartled with ſuch conſequences of his laſt commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet, whether by the ſlowneſs of his nature, or the forms of

the Spanish Court, the answer came too late: and as all his former concessions, either by delay or testimonies of ill will or meaning in them, had lost the good grace, so this lost absolutely the effect, and came into the Low-Countries when all was in flame by an insurrection of the meaner people through many great towns of Flanders, Holland, and Utrecht, who fell violently upon the spoil of churches, and destruction of images, with a thousand circumstances of barbarous and brutish fury; which, with the institution of consistories and magistrates in each town among those of the reformed profession, with public confederacies and distinctions, and private contributions agreed upon for the support of their common cause, gave the first date in this year of 1566 to the revolt of the Low-Countries.

But the nobility of the country, and the richest of the people in the cities, though unsatisfied with the government, yet feeling the effects, and abhorring the rage, of popular tumults, as the worst mischief that can befal any State; and encouraged by the arrival of the King's concessions, began to unite their counsels and forces with those of the Governess, and to employ themselves both with great vigour and loyalty for suppressing the late insurrections, that had seized upon many, and shaked most of the cities of the Provinces; in which the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont were great instruments, by the authority of their great charges (one being Governor of Holland and Zealand, and the other of Flanders) but more by the general love and confidence of the people: until by the reducing Valenciennes, Maestricht, and the Burse, by arms; the submission of Antwerp and other towns; the defection of Count Egmont from the counsels of the Confederate Lords (as they were called;) the retreat of the Prince of Orange into Germany; and the death of Brederode, with the news

6 2 6 7

news and preparations of King Philip's ſudden journey into the Low-Countries, as well as the prudence and moderation of the Ducheſs in governing all theſe circumſtances; the whole eſtate of the Provinces was perfectly reſtored to its former peace, obedience, and, at leaſt, appearance of loyalty.

King Philip, whether having never really decreed his journey into Flanders, or diverted by the pacification of the Provinces, and apprehenſion of the Moors rebelling in Spain, or a diſtruſt of his ſon Prince Charles's violent paſſions and diſpoſitions, or the expectation of what had been reſolved at Bayonne growing ripe for execution in France, gave over the diſcourſe of ſeeing the Low-Countries; but at the ſame time took up the reſolution for diſpatching the Duke of Alva thither at the head of an army of ten thouſand veteran Spaniſh and Italian troops, for the aſſiſtance of the Governeſs, the execution of the laws, the ſuppreſſing and puniſhment of all who had been authors or fomenters of the late ſeditions.

This reſult was put ſuddenly in execution, though wholly againſt the advice of the Ducheſs of Parma in Flanders, and the Duke of Feria (one of the chief miniſters) in Spain, who thought the preſent peace of the Provinces ought not to be invaded by new occaſions; nor the royal authority leſſened by being made a party in a war upon his ſubjects; nor a miniſter employed where he was ſo profeſſedly both hating and hated, as the Duke of Alva in the Low-Countries.

But the King was unmoveable; ſo that, in the end of the year of 1567, the Duke of Alva arrived there with an army of ten thouſand, the beſt Spaniſh and Italian ſoldiers, under the command of the choiceſt officers, which the wars of Charles V. or Philip II. had bred up in Europe; which, with two thouſand Germans the Ducheſs of Parma had raiſed in the laſt tumults,

tumults, and, under the command of ſo old and renowned a General as the Duke of Alva, made up a force, which nothing in the Low-Countries could look in the face with other eyes, than of aſtoniſhment, ſubmiſſion, or deſpair.

Upon the firſt report of this expedition, the trading people of the towns and country began in vaſt numbers to retire out of the provinces; ſo, as the Ducheſs wrote to the King, that, in few days, above a hundred thouſand men had left the country, and withdrawn both their money and goods, and more were following every day: ſo great antipathy there ever appears between merchants and ſoldiers; whilſt one pretends to be ſafe under laws, which the other pretends ſhall be ſubject to his ſword and his will. And upon the firſt action of the Duke of Alva after his arrival, which was the ſeizing of the Counts Egmont and Horne, as well as the ſuſpected death of the Marquis of Berghen, and impriſonment of Montigny in Spain (whither, ſome months before, they had been ſent with commiſſion and inſtructions from the Ducheſs) ſhe immediately deſired leave of the King to retire out of the Low-Countries.

This was eaſily obtained, and the Duke of Alva inveſted in the government, with powers never given before to any Governor: a council of twelve was erected for trial of all crimes committed againſt the King's authority, which was called by the people, The Council of Blood. Great numbers were condemned and executed by ſentence of this council, upon account of the late inſurrections; more by that of the inquiſition, againſt the parting advice of the Ducheſs of Parma, and the exclamation of the people at thoſe illegal courts. The town ſtomached the breach of their charters, the people of their liberties, the Knights of the Golden-Fleece the charters of their order, by theſe new and odious courts of judicature:

all

all complain of the diſuſe of the States, of the introduction of armies, but all in vain: the King was conſtant to what he had determined; Alva was in his nature cruel and inexorable; the new army was fierce and brave, and deſirous of nothing ſo much as a rebellion in the country; the people were enraged, but awed and unheaded: all was ſeizure and proceſs, confiſcation and impriſonment, blood and horror, inſolence and dejection, puniſhments executed, and meditated revenge: the ſmaller branches were lopt off apace; the great ones were longer a hewing down. Counts Egmont and Horne laſted ſeveral months; but, at length, in ſpite of all their ſervices to Charles V. and to Philip, as well as of their new merits in the quieting of the Provinces, and of ſo great ſupplications and interceſſions as were made in their favour, both in Spain and in Flanders, they were publickly beheaded at Bruſſels; which ſeemed to break all patience in the people, and, by their end, to give thoſe commotions a beginning, which coſt Europe ſo much blood, and Spain a great part of the Low-Country Provinces.

After the proceſs of Egmont and Horne, the Prince of Orange, who was retired into Germany, was ſummoned to his trial for the ſame crimes, of which the others had been accuſed; and, upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed traitor, and his whole eſtate (which was very great in the Provinces, and in Burgundy) ſeized upon, as forfeited to the King. The Prince, treated in this manner while he was quiet and unarmed in Germany, employs all his credit with thoſe Princes engaged to him by alliance or by common fears of the houſe of Auſtria, throws off all obedience to the Duke of Alva, raiſes forces, joins with great numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces, all enraged at the Duke of Alva's cruel and arbitrary government, and reſolved to revenge the

Count

Count Egmont's death (who had ever been the darling of the people.) With these troops he enters Friezland, and invades the outward parts of Brabant, receives succour from the Protestants of France, then in arms under the Prince of Condé: and after many various encounters and successes, by the great conduct of Alva, and valour of his veteran army, being hindered from seizing upon any town in Brabant (which both of them knew would shake the fidelity of the Provinces) he is at length forced to break up his army, and to retire into Germany. Hereupon Alva returns in triumph to Brussels: and, as if he had made a conquest, instead of a defence, causes, out of the cannon taken from Lewis of Nassau, his statue to be cast in brass, treading and insulting upon two smaller statues that represented the two estates of the Low-Countries; and this to be erected in the citadel he had built at Antwerp for the absolute subjecting of that rich, populous, and mutinous town.

Nothing had raised greater indignation among the Flemings, than the public sight and ostentation of this statue; and the more, because they knew the boast to be true, finding their ancient liberties and privileges (the inheritance of so many ages, or bounty of so many Princes) all now prostrate before this one man's sword and will, who from the time of Charles V. had ever been esteemed an enemy of their nation, and author of all the counsels for the absolute subduing their country.

But Alva, moved with no rumours, terrified with no threats from a broken and unarmed people, and thinking no measures nor forms were any more necessary to be observed in the Low-Countries, pretends greater sums are necessary for the pay and reward of his victorious troops, than were annually granted, upon the King's request, by the States of the provinces: and therefore demands a general tax of the hundredth

dredth part of every man's estate in the Low-Countries, to be raised at once; and, for the future, the twentieth of all immoveables, and the tenth of all that was sold.

The States with much reluctancy consent to the first, as a thing that ended at once; but refused the other two, alledging the poverty of the Provinces, and the ruin of trade. Upon the Duke's persisting, they petition the King by messengers into Spain, but without redress; draw out the year in contests, sometimes stomachful, sometimes humble, with the Governor; till the Duke, impatient of further delay, causes the edict, without consent of the States, to be published at Brussels. The people refuse to pay, the soldiers begin to levy by force, the townsmen all shut up their shops, the people in the country forbear the market, so as not so much as bread or meat is to be bought in the town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the soldiers to arms, and commands several of the inhabitants, who refused the payments, to be hanged that very night upon their sign-posts; which nothing moves the obstinacy of the people: and now the officers of the guards are ready to begin the executions, when news comes to town of the taking of the Briel by the Gueuses, and of the expectation that had been given of a sudden revolt in the Province of Holland.

This unexpected blow struck the Duke of Alva; and foreseeing the consequences of it, because he knew the stubble was dry, and now he found the fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill time to make an end of the tragedy in Brabant, whilst a new scene was opened in Holland; and so, giving over for the present his taxes and executions, applies his thoughts to the suppression of this new enemy, that broke in upon him from the sea; and, for that reason, the bottom and reach of the design, as well as the nature and strength of their forces, were to the Duke the less known, and the more suspected. Now, because this seizure of the Briel

Briel began the ſecond great commotion of the Low-Countries in 1570, and that which indeed never ended, but in the loſs of thoſe Provinces, where the death of the Spaniſh and Royal Government gave life to a new commonwealth, it will be neceſſary to know, what ſort of men, and by what accidents united, and by what fears or hopes emboldened, were the firſt authors of this adventure.

Upon Brederode's delivering a petition to the Ducheſs of Parma againſt the inquiſition, and for ſome liberty in point of religion, thoſe perſons, which attended him, looking mean in their cloaths and their garb, were called by one of the courtiers, at their entrance into the palace, *gueuſes*, which ſignifies beggars; a name, though raiſed by chance, or by ſcorn, yet affected by the party, as an expreſſion of humility and diſtreſs, and uſed ever after by both ſides as a name of diſtinction comprehending all who diſſented from the Roman Church, how different ſoever in opinion among themſelves.

Theſe men, ſpread in great numbers through the whole extent of the Provinces by the accidents and diſpoſitions already mentioned, after the appeaſing of their firſt ſedition were broken in their common counſels; and by the cruelty of the inquiſition, and rigour of Alva, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at leaſt, ſuch as had means or hopes of ſubſiſting abroad: many of the poorer and more deſperate fled into the woods of the upper countries (where they are thick and wild) and lived upon ſpoil; and, in the firſt deſcent of the Prince of Orange's forces, did great miſchief to all ſcattered parties of the Duke of Alva's troops in their march through thoſe parts. But, after that attempt of the Prince ended without ſucceſs, and he was forced back into Germany, the Count of Marcke, a violent and implacable enemy to the Duke of Alva and his government,

ment, with many others of the broken troops (whom the same fortune and disposition had left together in Friezland) manned out some ships of small force, and betook themselves to sea; and, with commissions from the Prince of Orange, began to prey upon all they could master, that belonged to the Spaniards. They sometimes sheltered and watered, and sold their prizes in some creeks or small harbours of England, though forbidden by Queen Elizabeth (then in peace with Spain;) sometimes in the river Ems, or some small ports of Friezland; till at length, having gained considerable riches by these adventures, whether to sell, or to refresh, whether driven by storm, or led by design (upon knowledge of the ill blood which the new taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the island of the Briel, assaulted and carried the town, pulled down the images in the churches, professed openly their religion, declared against the taxes and tyranny of the Spanish government, and were immediately followed by the revolt of most of the towns of Holland, Zealand, and West-Friezland, who threw out the Spanish garrisons, renounced their obedience to King Philip, and swore fidelity to the Prince of Orange.

The Prince returned out of Germany with new forces, and, making use of this fury of the people, contented not himself with Holland and Zealand, but marched up into the very heart of the Provinces, within five leagues of Brussels, seizing upon Mechlin, and many other towns, with so great consent, applause, and concourse of people, that the whole Spanish dominion seemed now ready to expire in the Low-Countries, if it had not been revived by the massacre of the Protestants at Paris; which, contrived by joint counsels with King Philip, and acted by a Spanish party in the Court of France, and with so fatal a blow to the contrary faction, encouraged the Duke of Alva, and damped the

the Prince of Orange in the ſame degree; ſo that one gathers ſtrength enough to defend the heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into Holland, and makes that the ſeat of the war.

This country was ſtrong by its nature and ſeat among the waters that encompaſs and divide it; but more by a rougher ſort of people, at that time leſs ſoftened by trade or by riches, leſs uſed to grants of money and taxes, and proud of their ancient fame, recorded in the Roman ſtories, of being obſtinate defenders of their liberties, and now moſt implacable haters of the Spaniſh name.

All theſe diſpoſitions were increaſed and hardened in the war that enſued under the Duke of Alva's conduct, or his ſons; by the ſlaughter of all innocent perſons and ſexes upon the taking of Naerden, where the houſes were burnt, and the walls levelled to the ground; by the deſperate defence of Haerlem for ten months, with all the practices and returns of ignominy, cruelty, and ſcorn on both ſides, while the very women lifted themſelves in companies, repaired breaches, gave alarms, and beat up quarters, till, all being famiſhed, four hundred burghers (after the ſurrender) were killed in cold blood, among many other examples of an incenſed conqueror; which made the humour of the parties grow more deſperate, and their hatred to Spain and Alva incurable.

The ſame army broken and forced to riſe from before Alcmaer, after a long and fierce ſiege in Alva's time; and from before Leyden in the time of Requiſenes (where the boors themſelves opened the ſluices, and drowned the country, reſolving to miſchief the Spaniards at the charge of their own ruin) gave the great turn to affairs in Holland.

The King grows ſenſible of danger, and apprehenſive of the total defection of the Provinces; Alva weary of his government, finding his violent counſels

and proceedings had raiſed a ſpirit, which was quiet before he came, and was never to be laid any more. The Duke is recalled, and the war goes on under Requiſenes; who dying ſuddenly and without proviſions made by the King for a ſucceſſor, the government, by cuſtoms of the country, devolved by way of interim upon the Great Council, which laſted ſome time, by the delay of Don John of Auſtria's coming, who was declared the new Governor.

But, in this interim, the ſtrength of the diſeaſe appears; for, upon the mutiny of ſome Spaniſh troops for want of their pay, and their ſeizing Aloſt, a town near Bruſſels, the people grow into a rage, the tradeſmen give over their ſhops, and the country-men their labour, and all run to arms: in Bruſſels they force the Senate, pull out thoſe men they knew to be moſt addicted to the Spaniards, kill ſuch of that nation as they meet in the ſtreets, and all in general cry out for the expulſion of foreigners out of the Low-Countries, and the aſſembling of the States; to which the Council is forced to conſent. In the mean time, the chief perſons of the Provinces enter into an agreement with the Prince of Orange, to carry on the common affairs of the Provinces by the ſame counſels; ſo as, when the Eſtates aſſembled at Ghent, without any conteſt they agreed upon that act, which was called *The pacification of Ghent*, in the year 1576, whereof the chief articles were, *The expulſion of all foreign ſoldiers out of the Provinces: reſtoring all the ancient forms of government: and referring matters of Religion in each Province to the provincial Eſtates: and that, for performance thereof, the reſt of the Provinces ſhould for ever be confederate with Holland and Zeeland.* And this made the firſt period of the Low-Country troubles, proving to King Philip a dear experience how little the beſt conduct, and boldeſt armies, are able to withſtand the torrent of a ſtubborn and enraged people, which ever bears

bears all down before it, till it comes to be divided into different channels by arts, or by chance; or, till the springs, which are the humours that fed it, come to be spent, or dry up of themselves.

The foreign forces, refusing to depart, are declared rebels; whereupon the Spanish troops force and plunder several towns, and Antwerp among the rest (by advantage of the citadel) with equal courage and avarice; and defend themselves in several holds from the forces of the States, till Don John's arrival at Luxemburgh, the only town of the Provinces where he thought himself safe, as not involved in the defection of the rest.

The Estates refuse to admit him without his accepting and confirming the pacification of Ghent; which at length he does, by leave from the King, and enters upon the government with the dismission of all foreign troops, which return into Italy. But soon after, Don John, whether out of indignation to see himself but a precarious Governor, without force or dependence; or desiring new occasions of fame by a war; or instructed from Spain upon new counsels, takes the occasion of complimenting Queen Margaret of Navarre upon her journey out of France to the Spaw, and on a sudden seizes upon the castle of Namur. Whereupon the Provinces for the third time throw off their obedience, call the Prince of Orange to Brussels, where he is made Protector of Brabant by the States of that Province, and preparations are made on both sides for the war; while Spain is busy to form new armies, and draw them together in Namur and Luxemburgh, the only Provinces obedient to that crown, and all the rest agree to elect a Governor of their own, and send to Matthias the Emperor's brother, to offer him the charge.

At this time began to be formed the male-content party in the Low-Countries; which though agreeing

with the rest in their hatred to the Spaniards, and defence of their liberties and laws, yet were not inclined to shake off allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and established religion: and these were headed by the Duke of Areschot, and several great men, the more averse from a general defection, by emulation or envy of the Prince of Orange's greatness, who was now grown to have all the influence and credit in the counsels of the league.

By the assistance of this party, after Don John's sudden death, the Duke of Parma, succeeding him, gained strength and reputation upon his coming to the government, and an entrance upon that great scene of glory and victory, which made both his person so renowned, and the time of his government signalized by so many sieges and battles, and the reduction of so great a part of the body of the provinces to the subjection of Spain.

Upon the growth of this party, and for distinction from them, who, pursuing a middle and dangerous counsel, were at length to become an accession to one of the extremes; the more northern Provinces, meeting by their deputies at Utrecht, in the year 1579, framed an act or alliance, which was ever after called the *Union of Utrecht*; and was the original constitution and frame of that commonwealth, which has since been so well known in the world by the name of the United Provinces.

This union was grounded upon the Spaniards breach of the pacification of Ghent, and new invasion of some towns in Guelderland; and was not pretended to divide these Provinces from the generality, nor from the said pacification; but to strengthen and pursue the ends of it, by more vigorous and united counsels and arms.

The chief force of this union consists in these points, drawn out of the instrument itself:

The

The ſeven Provinces unite themſelves ſo, as if they were but one Province, and ſo, as never to be divided by teſtament, donation, exchange, ſale, or agreement: reſerving to each particular Province and city all privileges, rights, cuſtoms, and ſtatutes: in adjudging whereof, or differences that ſhall ariſe between any of the Provinces, the reſt ſhall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an agreement.

They bind themſelves to aſſiſt one another with life and fortunes againſt all force and aſſault made upon any of them, whether upon pretence of royal majeſty, of reſtoring Catholic religion, or any other whatſoever.

All frontier-towns belonging to the union, if old, to be fortified at the charge of the Province where they lie; if new, to be erected at the charge of the generality.

All impoſts and cuſtoms, from three months to three months, to be offered to them that bid moſt; and, with the incomes of the royal majeſty, to be employed for the common defence.

All inhabitants to be liſted and trained within a month, from 18 to 60 years old. Peace and war not to be made without conſent of all the Provinces: other caſes, that concern the management of both, by moſt voices. Differences that ſhall ariſe upon the firſt, between the Provinces, to be ſubmitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring Princes, Lords, lands, and cities, to be admitted into the union, by conſent of the Provinces.

For religion, thoſe of Holland and Zealand to act in it as ſeems good unto themſelves. The other Provinces may regulate themſelves according to the tenor eſtabliſhed by Matthias, or elſe as they ſhall judge to be moſt for the peace and welfare of their particular Provinces; provided every one remain free in his religion, and no man be examined or entrapped for that cauſe, according to the pacification of Ghent.

In caſe of any diſſenſion or differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it ſhall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in gene-

ral, by the Stadtholders: in both which caſes, ſentence to be pronounced within a month, and without appeal or reviſion.

The States to be held as has been formerly uſed; and the mint in ſuch manner as ſhall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of theſe articles to remain in the States; but, in caſe of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themſelves to fall upon and impriſon any that ſhall act contrary to theſe articles; in which caſe no privilege nor exemption to be valid.

This act was ſigned by the deputies of Guelderland, Zutphen, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and the Omlands of Frize, Jan. 23, 1579, but was not ſigned by the Prince of Orange till May following, and with this ſignification, judging that by the ſame the ſuperiority and authority of Arch-Duke Matthias is not leſſened.

In the ſame year, this union was entered and ſigned by the cities of Ghent, Nimmeguen, Arnhem, Leewarden, with ſome particular nobles of Friezland, Venlo, Ypres, Antwerp, Breda, and Bruges. And thus theſe Provinces became a commonwealth, but in ſo low and uncertain a ſtate of affairs, by reaſon of the various motions and affections of men's minds, the different ends and intereſts of the ſeveral parties, eſpecially in the other Provinces; and the mighty power and preparations of the Spaniſh monarchy to oppreſs them, that in their firſt coin they cauſed a ſhip to be ſtamped, labouring among the waves without ſails or oars; and theſe words, *Incertum quo fata ferant.*

I thought ſo particular a deduction neceſſary to diſcover the natural cauſes of this revolution in the Low-Countries, which has ſince had ſo great a part, for near a hundred years, in all the actions and negotiations of Chriſtendom; and to find out the true incentives for that obſtinate love for their liberties, and invincible hatred for the Spaniſh nation and government, which laid the foundation of this commonwealth; and

this laſt I take to have been the ſtronger paſſion, and of the greater effect, both in the bold counſels of contracting their union, and the deſperate reſolutions of defending it. For, not long after, the whole council of this new State, being preſſed by the extremities of their affairs, paſſing by the form of government in the way of a commonwealth, made an earneſt and ſolemn offer of the dominion of theſe Provinces both to England and France; but were refuſed by both crowns; and, though they retained the name of a free people, yet they ſoon loſt the eaſe of the liberties they contended for, by the abſoluteneſs of their magiſtrates in the ſeveral cities and provinces, and the extreme preſſure of their taxes, which ſo long a war, with ſo mighty an enemy, made neceſſary for the ſupport of their State.

But the hatred of the Spaniſh government under Alva was ſo univerſal, that it made the revolt general through the Provinces, running through all religions, and all orders of men, as appeared by the pacification of Ghent; till, by the diviſion of the parties, by the powers of ſo vaſt a monarchy as Spain at that time, and by the matchleſs conduct and valour of the Duke of Parma, this humour, like poiſon in a ſtrong conſtitution, and with the help of violent phyſic, was expelled from the heart, which was Flanders and Brabant (with the reſt of the ten Provinces) into the outward members; and, by their being cut off, the body was ſaved. After which, the moſt inflamed ſpirits being driven by the arms of Spain, or drawn by the hopes of liberty and ſafety, into the United Provinces out of the reſt, the hatred of Spain grew to that heighth, that they were not only willing to ſubmit to any new dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no maſter to protect them, and their affairs grew deſperate, they were once certainly upon the counſel of burning their great towns, waſting and drowning what they could of their own country, and going to ſeek

ſome new ſeats in the Indies. Which they might have executed, if they had found ſhipping enough to carry off all their numbers, and had not been detained by the compaſſion of thoſe which muſt have been left behind at the mercy of an incenſed and conquering maſter.

The Spaniſh and Italian writers content themſelves to attribute the cauſes of theſe revolutions to the change of religion, to the native ſtubbornneſs of the people, and to the ambition of the Princes of Orange: but religion, without mixtures of ambition and intereſt, works no ſuch violent effects, and produces rather the examples of conſtant ſufferings, than of deſperate actions. The nature of the people cannot change of a ſudden, no more than the climate which infuſes it; and no country hath brought forth better ſubjects, than many of theſe Provinces, both before and ſince theſe commotions among them; and the ambition of one man could neither have deſigned nor atchieved ſo great an adventure, had it not been ſeconded with univerſal diſcontent; nor could that have been raiſed to ſo great an heighth and heat without ſo many circumſtances as fell in from an unhappy courſe of the Spaniſh counſels to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to head ſuch a body, and give it ſo ſtrong a principle of life, and ſo regular motions, without the accident of ſo great a Governor in the Provinces, as Prince William of Orange, a man of equal abilities in counſel and in arms; cautious and reſolute, affable and ſevere, ſupple to occaſions and yet conſtant to his ends; of mighty revenues and dependance in the Provinces, of great credit and alliance in Germany; eſteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely loved and truſted by the people, who thought him affectionate to their country, ſincere in his profeſſions and deſigns, able and willing to defend their liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any ambition of his own; yet all theſe

theſe qualities might very well have been confined to the duty and ſervices of a ſubject, as they were in Charles V's time, without the abſence of the King, and the people's opinion of his ill-will to their nation and the laws; without the continuance of foreign troops after the wars were ended, the erecting of the new Biſhops ſees, and introducing the inquiſition; the ſole miniſtry of Grandvell, and excluſion of the Lords from their uſual part in counſels and affairs; the government of a man ſo hated, as the Duke of Alva; the rigour of his proſecutions, and the inſolence of his ſtatue; and, laſtly, without the death of Egmont, and the impoſition of the tenth and twentieth part, againſt the legal forms of government in a country where a long derived ſucceſſion had made the people fond and tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms and laws.

Theſe were the ſeeds of their hatred to Spain; which, increaſing by the courſe of about threeſcore years war, was not allayed by a long ſucceeding peace; but will appear to have been an ingredient into the fall, as it was into the riſe, of this State; which, having been thus planted, came to be conſerved and cultivated by many accidents and influences from abroad; but, thoſe having had no part in the conſtitution of their State, nor the frame of their government, I will content myſelf to mention only the chief of them, which moſt contributed to preſerve the infancy of this commonwealth, and make way for its growth; the cauſes of its ſucceeding greatneſs and riches being not to be ſought for in the events of their wars, but in the inſtitutions and orders of their government, their cuſtoms, and trade, which will make the arguments of the enſuing chapters.

When Don John threw off the conditions he had at firſt accepted of the pacification of Ghent, and by the ſurpriſe of Namur broke into arms, the Eſtates of the Provinces offered the government of their country to Matthias, brother to the Emperor, as a temper between their

their return to the obedience of Spain, and the popular government which was moulding in the northern Provinces. But Matthias, arriving without the advice or ſupport of the Emperor, or credit in the Provinces, and having the Prince of Orange given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a cypher, and his government a piece of pageantry, which paſſed without effect, and was ſoon ended: ſo that, upon the Duke of Parma's taking on him the government, ſome new protection was neceſſary to this infant State, that had not legs to ſupport it againſt ſuch a ſtorm as was threatened upon the return of the Spaniſh and Italian forces to make the body of a formidable army which the Duke of Parma was forming in Namur and Luxemburgh.

Since the conference of Bayonne, between the Queen-mother of France and her daughter Queen of Spain, thoſe two crowns had continued, in the reign of Francis and Charles, to aſſiſt one another in the common deſign there agreed on, of proſecuting with violence thoſe they called the Heretics, in both their dominions. The peace held conſtant, if not kind, between England and Spain; ſo as King Philip had no wars upon his hands in Chriſtendom during theſe commotions in the Low-Countries; and the boldneſs of the confederates, in their firſt revolt and union, ſeemed greater at ſuch a time than the ſucceſs of their reſiſtances afterwards, when ſo many occaſions fell in to weaken and divert the forces of the Spaniſh monarchy.

For Henry III. coming to the crown of France, and at firſt only fettered and controuled by the faction of the Guiſes, but afterwards engaged in an open war (which they had raiſed againſt him, upon pretext of preſerving the Catholic religion, and in a conjunction of counſels with Spain) was forced into better meaſures with the Hugonots of his kingdom, and fell into ill intelligence with Philip II. ſo as, Queen Eliſabeth

ſabeth having declined to undertake openly the protection of the Low-Country Provinces, it was, by the concurring reſolution of the States, and the conſent of the French Court, devolved upon the Duke of Alençon, brother to Henry III.

But this Prince entered Antwerp with an ill preſage to the Flemings, by an attempt which a Biſcainer made the ſame day upon the Prince of Orange's life, ſhooting him, though not mortally, in the head: and he continued his ſhort government with ſuch mutual diſtaſtes between the French and the Flemings (the heat and violence of one nation agreeing ill with the cuſtoms and liberties of the other) that the Duke, attempting to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the city of Antwerp by force, was driven out of the town, and thereupon retired out of the country with extreme reſentment of the Flemings, and indignation of the French, ſo as, the Prince of Orange being not long after aſſaſſinated at Delph, and the Duke of Parma increaſing daily in reputation and in force, and the male-content party falling back apace to his obedience, an end was preſaged by moſt men to the affairs of the confederates.

But the root was deeper and not ſo eaſily ſhaken: for the United Provinces, after the unhappy tranſactions with the French under the Duke of Alençon, re-aſſumed their union in 1583, binding themſelves, in caſe by fury of the war any point of it had not been obſerved, to endeavour from that time to ſee it effected: in caſe any doubt had happened, to ſee it cleared: and any difficulties, compoſed: and, in regard the article concerning religion had been ſo framed in the union, becauſe in all the other Provinces, beſides Holland and Zealand, the Romiſh religion was then uſed, but now the Evangelical, it was agreed by all the Provinces of the union, that, from this time, in them all, the Evangelical reformed religion ſhould alone be openly preached and exerciſed.

They

They were so far from being broken in their designs by the Prince of Orange's death, that they did all the honour that could be to his memory, substituted Prince Maurice, his son, though but sixteen years old, in all his honours and commands, and absolutely refused all overtures that were made them of peace, resolving upon all the most desperate actions and sufferings, rather than return under the Spanish obedience.

But these spirits were fed and heightened, in a great degree, by the hopes and countenance given them about this Time from England: for Queen Elisabeth and Philip II, though they still preserved the name of peace, yet had worn out, in a manner, the effects as well as the dispositions of it, whilst the Spaniards fomented and assisted the insurrections of the Irish, and Queen Elisabeth the new commonwealth in the Low-Countries; though neither directly, yet by countenance, money, voluntary troops, and ways that were equally felt on both sides, and equally understood.

King Philip had lately increased the greatness of his empire by the inheritance or invasion of the kingdom of Portugal, upon King Sebastian's loss in Africa: but I know not whether he had increased his power by the accession of a kingdom with a disputed title and a discontented people, who could neither be used like good subjects, and governed without armies, nor like a conquered nation, and so made to bear the charge of their forced obedience. But this addition of empire, with the vast treasure flowing every year out of the Indies, had without question raised King Philip's ambition to vaster designs; which made him embrace, at once, the protection of the League in France against Henry III. and IV. and the donation made him of Ireland by the Pope, and so embark himself in a war with both those crowns, while he was bearded with the open arms and defiance of his own subjects in the Low-Countries.

But

But it is hard to be imagined, how far the spirit of one great man goes in the fortunes of any army or state. The Duke of Parma coming to the government without any footing in more than two of the smallest Provinces, collecting an army from Spain, Italy, Germany, and the broken troops of the country left him by Don John, having all the other Provinces confederated against him, and both England and France beginning to take open part in their defence; yet, by force of his own valour, conduct, and the discipline of his army, with the disinterested and generous qualities of his mind, winning equally upon the hearts and arms of the revolted countries, and piercing through the Provinces with an uninterrupted course of successes, and the recovery of the most important towns in Flanders; at last, by the taking of Antwerp and Groninguen, reduced the affairs of the union to so extreme distress, that, being grown destitute of all hopes and succours from France (then deep engaged in their own civil wars) they threw themselves wholly at the feet of Queen Elisabeth, imploring her protection, and offering her the sovereignty of their country. The Queen refused the dominion, but entered into articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging herself to very great supplies of men and of monies, lent them upon the security of the Briel, Flushing, and Ramekins; which were performed, and Sir John Norris sent over to command her forces; and afterwards in 87, upon the war broken out with Spain, and the mighty threats of the Spanish armada, she sent over yet greater forces under the Earl of Leicester, whom the States admitted, and swore obedience to him as Governor of their United Provinces.

But this government lasted not long, distastes and suspicions soon breaking out between Leicester and the States; partly from the jealousy of his affecting an absolute dominion and arbitrary disposal of all offices, but chiefly of the Queen's intentions to make a peace with

with Spain; and the easy loss of some of their towns by Governors placed in them by the Earl of Leicester, increased their discontents. Notwithstanding this ill intercourse, the Queen re-assures them in both those points, disapproves some of Leicester's proceedings, receives frank and hearty assistances from them in her naval preparations against the Spaniards; and at length, upon the disorders increasing between the Earl of Leicester and the States, commands him to resign his government, and release the States of the oath they had taken to obey him. And, after all this had past, the Queen, easily sacrificing all particular resentments to the interest of her crown, continued her favour, protection, and assistances to the States, during the whole course of her reign, which were returned with the greatest deference and veneration to her person, that was ever paid by them to any foreign Prince, and continues still to her name in the remembrance, and frequently in the mouths, of all sorts of people among them.

After Leicester's departure, Prince Maurice was, by the consent of the union, chosen their Governor, but with a reservation to Queen Elisabeth; and entered that command with the hopes which he made good in the execution of it for many years; proving the greatest Captain of his age, famous, particularly, in the discipline and ordonance of his armies, and the ways of fortification by him first invented or perfected, and since his time imitated by all.

But the great breath, that was given the States in the heat of their affairs, was by the sharp wars made by Queen Elisabeth upon the Spaniards at sea in the Indies, and the expeditions of Lisbon and Cadiz, and by the declining affairs of the League in France, for whose support Philip II. was so passionately engaged, that twice he commanded the Duke of Parma to interrupt the course of his victories in the Low-Countries, and march into France for the relief of Roan and Paris;

Paris; which much augmented the renown of this great Captain, but as much impaired the state of the Spanish affairs in Flanders. For, in the Duke of Parma's absence, Prince Maurice took in all the places held by the Spaniards on the other side the Rhine which gave them entrance into the United Provinces.

The succession of Henry IV. to the crown of France gave a mighty blow to the designs of King Philip; and a much greater, the general obedience and acknowledgment of him upon his change of religion. With this King the States began to enter a confidence and kindness, and the more by that which interceded between him and the Queen of England, who had all their dependence during her life. But, after her death, King Henry grew to have greater credit than ever in the United Provinces; though upon the decay of the Spanish power, under the ascendant of this King, the States fell into very early jealousies of his growing too great, and too near them in Flanders.

With the Duke of Parma died all the discipline, and with that all the fortunes, of the Spanish arms in Flanders: the frequent mutinies of their soldiers, dangerous in effect and in example, were more talked of than any other of their actions, in the short government of Mansfield, Ernest, and Fuentes, till the old discipline of their armies began to revive, and their fortune a little to respire, under the new government of Cardinal Albert, who came into Flanders both Governor and Prince of the Low-Countries, at the head of a mighty army drawn out of Germany and Italy, to try the last effort of the Spanish power, either in a prosperous war, or, at least, in making way for a necessary peace.

But the choice of the Arch-Duke, and this new authority, had a deeper root and design, than at first appeared; for that mighty King Philip II, born to so vast possessions, and to so much vaster desires, after a long

long dream of raising his head into the clouds, found it now ready to lie down in the dust: his body broken with age and infirmities, his mind with cares and distempered thoughts and the royal servitude of a solicitous life, he began to see, in the glass of time and experience, the true shapes of all human greatness and designs; and finding to what airy figures he had hitherto sacrificed his health, and ease, and the good of his life, he now turned his thoughts wholly to rest and quiet, which he had never yet allowed either the world, or himself: his designs upon England, and his invincible armada, had ended in smoke: those upon France, in events the most contrary to what he had proposed: and instead of mastering the liberties, and breaking the stomach, of his Low-Country subjects, he had lost seven of his Provinces, and held the rest by the tenure of a war that cost him more than they were worth. He had made lately a peace with England, and desired it with France; and, though he scorned it with his revolted subjects in his own name, yet he wished it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a quarrel upon his son, which had crossed his fortunes and busied his thoughts all the course of his reign. He therefore resolved to commit these two designs to the management of Arch-Duke Albert, with the style of Governor and Prince of the Low-Countries; to the end, that, if he could reduce the Provinces to their old subjection, he should govern them as Spanish dominions; if that was once more in vain attempted, he should by a marriage with Clara Isabella Eugenia (King Philip's beloved daughter) receive these Provinces as a dowry, and become the Prince of them, with a condition only of their returning to Spain in case of Isabella's dying without issue. King Philip believed, that the presence of a natural Prince among his subjects; that the birth and customs of Arch Duke Albert, being a German; the generous and obliging dispositions of Isabella, might gain

gain further upon this stubborn people, than all the force and rigour of his former counsels; and, at the worst, that they might make a peace, if they could not a war, and without interesting the honour and greatness of the Spanish crown.

In pursuit of this determination, like a wise King, while he intended nothing but peace, he made preparations as if he designed nothing but war; knowing that his own desires of peace would signify nothing, unless he could force his enemies to desire it too. He therefore sent the Arch-Duke into Flanders, at the head of such an army, that, believing the peace with France must be the first in order, and make way for either the war or peace afterwards in the Low-Countries, he marched into France, and took Amiens the chief city of Picardy, and thereby gave such an alarm to the French Court, as they little expected, and had never received in the former wars. But while Albert bent the whole force of the war upon France, till he determined it in a peace with that crown, Prince Maurice, who had taken Groninguen in the time of Ernest, now mastered Linghen, Groll, and other places in Overyssel, thereby adding those Provinces entire to the body of the union; and, at Albert's return into Flanders, entertained him with the battle of Newport, won by the desperate courage of the English under Sir Francis Vere, where Albert was wounded, and very near being taken.

After this loss, the Arch-Duke was yet comforted and relieved by the obsequious affections and obedience of his new subjects, so far as to resolve upon the siege of Ostend; which having some time continued, and being almost disheartened by the strength of the place and invincible courage of the defendants, he was recruited by a body of eight thousand Italians, under the Marquis Spinola, to whom the prosecution of this siege was committed: he took the place after three years siege, not by any want of men or provisions within

(the haven, and relief by sea, being open all the time) but perfectly for want of ground, which was gained foot by foot, till not so much was left, as would hold men to defend it: a great example, how impossible it is to defend any town, that cannot be relieved by an army strong enough to raise the siege.

Prince Maurice, though he could not save Ostend, made yet amends for its loss, by the taking of Grave and Sluyce; so as the Spaniards gained little but the honour of the enterprise: and Philip II. being dead, about the time of the Arch-Duke and Ducheſs's arrival in Flanders, and, with him, the personal resentment of that war, the Arch-Duke, by consent of the Spanish Court, began to apply his thoughts wholly to a peace; which another circumstance had made more necessary, than any of those already mentioned.

As the Dutch commonwealth was born out of the sea, so out of the same element it drew its first strength and consideration, as well as afterwards its riches and greatness: for, before the revolt, the subjects of the Low-Countries, though never allowed the trade of the Indies but in the Spanish fleets and under Spanish covert, yet many of them had in that manner made the voyages, and become skilful pilots, as well as versed in the ways, and sensible of the infinite gains, of that trade. And after the union, a greater confluence of people falling down into the United Provinces, than could manage their stock, or find employment at land, great multitudes turned their endeavours to sea; and, having lost the trade of Spain and the Straits, fell not only into that of England, France, and the northern seas, but ventured upon that of the East-Indies, at first with small forces and success; but in course of time, and by the institution of an East-India company, this came to be pursued with so general application of the Provinces, and so great advantage, that they made themselves masters of most of the the colonies and

and forts planted there by the Portugueſe (now ſubjects of Spain.) The Dutch ſeamen grew as well acquainted with thoſe vaſt ſeas and coaſts as with their own; and Holland became the great magazine of all the commodities of thoſe eaſtern regions.

In the Weſt-Indies their attempts were neither ſo frequent nor proſperous, the Spaniſh plantations there being too numerous and ſtrong; but by the multitude of their ſhipping, ſet out with public or private commiſſions, they infeſted the ſeas, and began to wait for, and threaten, the Spaniſh Indian fleets, and ſometimes to attempt their coaſts in that new world, (which was to touch Spain in the moſt ſenſible part) and gave their Court the ſtrongeſt motives to endeavour a peace, that might ſecure thoſe treaſures in their way, and preſerve them in Spain, by ſtopping the iſſue of thoſe vaſt ſums, which were continually tranſmitted to maintain the Low-Country wars.

Theſe reſpects gave the firſt riſe to a treaty of peace, the propoſal whereof came wholly from the Spaniards; and the very mention of it could hardly at firſt be faſtened upon the States; nor could they ever be prevailed with to make way for any negotiation by a ſuſpenſion of arms, till the Arch-Duke had declared, he would treat with them as with free Provinces, upon whom, neither he, nor Spain, had any pretence. However, the affair was purſued with ſo much art and induſtry on the Arch-Duke's part, and with ſo paſſionate deſires of the Spaniſh Court to end this war, that they were content to treat it at the Hague, the ſeat of the States-General; and, for the greater honour, and better conduct of the whole buſineſs, appointed the four chief miniſters of the Arch-Duke's their commiſſioners to attend and purſue it there; who were, their Camp-Maſter-General Spinola, the Preſident of the Council, and the two Secretaries of State and of War in Flanders.

On the other side, in Holland all the pacestowards this treaty were made with great coldness and arrogance, raising punctilious difficulties upon every word of the Arch-Duke's declaration of treating them as free Provinces, and upon Spain's ratification of that form; and forcing them to send expresses into Spain, upon every occasion, and to attend the length of those returns. For the prosperous success of their arms at land, in the course of above thirty years war, and the mighty growth of their naval power, and (under that protection) of their trade, had made the whole body of their militia, both at land and sea, averse from this treaty, as well as the greatest part of the people; whose inveterate hatred against Spain was still as fierce as ever; and who had the hopes or dispositions of raising their fortunes by the war, whereof they had so many and great examples among them.

But there was, at the bottom, one foreign, and another domestic consideration, which made way for this treaty, more than all those arguments that were the common themes, or than all the offices of the neighbour Princes, who concerned themselves in this affair, either from interest of their own, or the desires of ending a war, which had so long exercised, in a manner, the arms of all Christendom upon the stage of the Low-Countries. The greatness of the Spanish monarchy, so formidable under Charles V. and Philip II, began now to decline by the vast designs, and unfortunate events, of so many ambitious counsels: and, on the other side, the affairs of Henry IV. of France were now at the greatest height and felicity, after having atchieved so many adventures, with incredible constancy and valour, and ended all his wars in a peace with Spain. The Dutch imagined, that the hot spirits of the French could not continue long without some exercise; and that, to prevent it at home, it might be necessary for that King to give it them abroad: that

no

no enterpriſe lay ſo convenient for him, as that upon Flanders, which had anciently been part of the Gallic nation, and whoſe firſt Princes derived and held of the Kings of France. Beſides, they had intimations, that Henry IV. was taken up in great preparations of war, which they doubted would at one time or other fall on that ſide, at leaſt if they were invited by any greater decays of the Spaniſh power in Flanders: and they knew very well, they ſhould lie as much at the mercy of ſuch a neighbour as France, as they had formerly done of ſuch a maſter as Spain. For the Spaniſh power in Flanders was fed by treaſures that came by long and perilous voyages out of Spain; by troops drawn either from thence, or from Italy or Germany, with much caſualty, and more expence: their territory of the ten Provinces was ſmall and awed by the neighbourhood and jealouſies both of England and France. But, if France were once maſter of Flanders, the body of that empire would be ſo great, and ſo entire; ſo abounding in people, and in riches; that whenever they found, or made, an occaſion of invading the United Provinces, they had no hopes of preſerving themſelves by any oppoſition or diverſion: and the end of their mighty reſiſtances againſt Spain was, to have no maſter; and not to change one for another, as they ſhould do in this caſe: therefore the moſt intelligent among their civil miniſters thought it ſafeſt, by a peace, to give breath to the Arch-Duke's and Spaniſh power, and, by that means, to leſſen the invitation of the arms of France into Flanders, under ſo great a King.

For what was domeſtic: the credit and power of Prince Maurice, built at firſt upon that of his father, but much raiſed by his own perſonal virtues and qualities, and the ſucceſs of his arms, was now grown ſo high (the Prince being Governor or Stadtholder of four of the Provinces, and two of his couſins of the other three) that ſeveral of the States headed by Barnevelt,

Penſioner of Holland, and a man of great abilities and authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's power, and pretended to fear the growth of it to an abſolute dominion: they knew, it would increaſe by the continuance of a war which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought that in a peace it would diminiſh and give way to the authority of civil power: which diſpoſed this whole party to deſire the treaty, and to advance the progreſs and iſſue of it by all their aſſiſtances. And theſe different humours ſtirring in the heart of the States with almoſt equal ſtrength and vigour, the negotiation of a peace came to be ended, after long debates and infinite endeavours; breaking, in appearance, upon the points of religion and the Indian trade; but yet came to knit again, and conclude in a truce of twelve years, dated in the year 1609, whereof the moſt eſſential points were, the declaration of treating with them as free Provinces; the ceſſation of all acts of hoſtility on both ſides during the truce; the enjoyment, for that ſpace, of all that each party poſſeſſed at the time of the treaty; that no new fortification ſhould be raiſed on either ſide; and that free commerce ſhould be reſtored on all parts in the ſame manner as it was before the wars.

And thus the State of the United Provinces came to be acknowledged as a free commonwealth by their ancient maſter, having before been treated ſo by moſt of the Kings and Princes of Europe, in frequent ambaſſies and negotiations. Among which, a particular preference was given to the Engliſh crown, whoſe Ambaſſador had ſeſſion and vote in their Council of State, by agreement with Queen Eliſabeth, and in acknowledgment of thoſe great aſſiſtances which gave life to their State when it was upon the point of expiring: though the Dutch pretend, that privilege was given to the Ambaſſador, by virtue of the poſſeſſion this crown had of the Briel, Fluſhing, and Ramekins; and

and that it was to ceaſe upon the reſtitution of thoſe towns, and repayment of thoſe ſums lent by the Queen.

In the very time of treating this truce, a league was concluded between Henry IV. of France and the States, for preſerving the peace, if it came to be concluded; or, in caſe of its failing, for aſſiſtance of one another with ten thouſand men on the King's part, and five thouſand on the States. Nor did that King make any difficulty of continuing the two regiments of foot and two hundred horſe in the States ſervice, at his own charge, after the truce, which he had maintained for ſeveral years before it: omitting no proviſions that might tie that State to his intereſt, and make him at preſent arbiter of the peace, and for the future of the war, if the truce ſhould come to be broken, or to expire of itſelf.

By what has been related it will eaſily appear, that no State was ever born with ſtronger throws, or nurſed up with harder fare, or inured to greater labours or dangers in the whole courſe of its youth; which are circumſtances that uſually make ſtrong and healthy bodies: and ſo this has proved, having never had more than one diſeaſe break out, in the ſpace of ninety-three years, which may be accounted the age of this State, reckoning from the union of Utrecht, entered by the Provinces in 1579. But this diſeaſe, like thoſe of the ſeed or conception in a natural body, though it firſt appeared in Barnevelt's time, breaking out upon the negotiations of Spain, and ſeemed to end with his death, (who was beheaded not many years after) yet has it ever ſince continued lurking in the veins of this State, and appearing upon all revolutions that ſeem to favour the predominancy of the one or other humour in the body; and, under the names of the Prince of Orange's and the Arminian party, has ever made the weak ſide of this State; and, whenever their period comes, will prove the occaſion of their fall.

The ground of this name of *Arminian* was, that whilst Barnevelt's party accused those of the Prince of Orange's, as being careless of their liberties, so dearly bought; as devoted to the house of Orange; and disposed to the admission of an absolute principality, and, in order thereunto, as promoters of a perpetual war with Spain; so those of the Princes party accused the others, as leaning still, and looking kindly upon, their old servitude, and relishing the Spaniard, both in their politics, by so eagerly affecting a peace with that crown; and in their religion, by being generally Arminians (which was esteemed the middle part between the Calvinists and the Roman religion.) And, besides these mutual reproaches, the two parties have ever valued themselves upon the asserting, one of the true and purer reformed religion; and the other, of the true and freer liberties of the State.

The fortunes of this commonwealth, that have happened in their wars or negotiations, since the truce with Spain, and what circumstances or accidents, both abroad and at home, served to cultivate their mighty growth, and conspired to the greatness wherein they appeared to the world in the beginning of the year 1665, being not only the subject of the relations, but even the observations, of this present age; I shall either leave, as more obvious and less necessary, to the account I intend of the civil government of this commonwealth; or else reserve them till the same vein of leisure or humour invite me to continue this deduction to the present time; the affairs of this State having been complicated with all the variety and memorable revolutions, both of actions and counsels, that have since happened in the rest of Christendom.

In the mean time, I will close this relation with an event, which arrived soon after the conclusion of the truce, and had like to have broken it within the very year, if not prevented by the offices of the neighbouring Princes,

Princes, but more by a change of humour in the United States, conspiring to the conservation of the new-restored peace in these parts of the world.

In the end of the year 1609, died the Duke of Cleves and Juliers, without heir-male, leaving those dutchies to the pretensions of his daughters, in whose right the Dukes of Brandenburgh and Nieuburgh possessed themselves of such parts of those territories as they first could invade, each of them pretending right to the whole inheritance. Brandenburgh seeks protection and favour to his title from the United Provinces. Nieuburgh from Arch-Duke Albert, and from Spain. The Arch-Duke, newly respiring from so long a war, had no desire to interest himself in this quarrel, further than the care, that the Dutch should not take advantage of it, and, under pretext of assisting one of the parties, seize upon some of those dominions lying contiguous to their own. The Dutch were not so equal, nor content to lose so fair an occasion, and surprised the town of Juliers (though pretending only to keep it till the parties agreed;) and believing that Spain, after having parted with so much in the late truce, to end a quarrel of their own, would not venture the breach of it upon a quarrel of their neighbours. But the Arch-Duke, having first taken his measures with Spain, and foreseeing the consequence of this affair, resolved to venture the whole State of Flanders in a new war, rather than suffer such an increase of power and dominion to the States. And thereupon, first, in the behalf of the Duke of Nieuburgh, requires from them the restitution of Juliers; and, upon their artificious and dilatory answers, immediately draws his forces together, and with an army, under the command of Spinola, marches towards Juliers (which the States were in no care of, as well provided for a bold defence) but makes a sudden turn, and sits down before Wesel, with such a terror and surprise to the inhabitants,

habitants, that he carries the town before the Dutch could come in to their assistance. Wesel was a strong town upon the Rhine, which the Duke of Brandenburgh pretended to, as belonging to the dutchy of Cleves; but the citizens held it at this time as an imperial town, and under protection of the Dutch: who, amazed at this sudden and bold attempt of Spinola, which made him master of a pass that lay fair for any further invasion upon their Provinces (especially those on t'other side the Rhine) engage the offices of both the English and French crowns to mediate an agreement, which at length they conclude, so as neither party should, upon any pretence, draw their forces into any part of these dutchies. Thus the Arch-Duke, having by the fondness of peace newly made a truce upon conditions imposed by the Dutch; now, by the resolution of making war, obtains a peace upon the very terms proposed by himself and by Spain. An event of great instruction and example, how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their aid, which makes them a prey to their friend, instead of their enemy: how the only time of making an advantageous peace is, when your enemy desires it, and when you are in the best condition of pursuing a war; and how vain a counsel it is, to avoid a war by yielding any point of interest or honour; which does but invite new injuries, encourage enemies, and dishearten friends.

CHAP. II.

Of their government.

IT is evident by what has been discoursed in the former chapter concerning the rise of this State, (which is to be dated from the union of Utrecht) that it cannot properly be styled a commonwealth, but is rather a confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces, united

united together for their common and mutual defence, without any dependence one upon the other. But, to discover the nature of their government from the first springs and motions, it must be taken yet into smaller pieces, by which it will appear, that each of these Provinces is likewise composed of many little states or cities, which have several marks of sovereign power within themselves, and are not subject to the sovereignty of their Province; not being concluded in many things by the majority, but only by the universal concurrence of voices in the Provincial States. For as the States-General cannot make war or peace, or any new alliance, or levies of money, without the consent of every Province; so cannot the States-Provincial conclude any of those points, without the consent of each of the cities that by their constitution has a voice in that assembly. And though in many civil causes there lies an appeal from the common judicature of the cities to the provincial courts of justice; yet, in criminal, there lies none at all; nor can the sovereignty of a Province exercise any judicature, seize upon any offender, or pardon any offence within the jurisdiction of a city, or execute any common resolution or law, but by the justice and officers of the city itself. By this a certain sovereignty in each city is discerned, the chief marks whereof are, the power of exercising judicature, levying of money, and making war and peace; for the other, of coining money, is neither in particular cities or Provinces, but in the generality of the Union, by common agreement.

The main ingredients therefore into the composition of this State are, the freedom of the cities, the sovereignty of the Provinces, the agreements or constitutions of the union, and the authority of the Princes of Orange; which makes the order I shall follow in the account intended of this government. But whereas the several Provinces in the union, and the several cities in each Province, as they have, in their orders

ders and constitutions, some particular differences, as well as a general resemblance; and the account of each distinctly would swell this discourse out of measure, and to little purpose; I shall confine myself to the account of Holland, as the richest, strongest, and of most authority among the Provinces; and of Amsterdam as that which has the same pre-eminencies among the cities.

The sovereign authority of the city of Amsterdam consists in the decrees or results of their Senate, which is composed of six and thirty men, by whom the justice is administered, according to ancient forms, in the names of officers and places of judicature. But monies are levied by arbitrary resolutions and proportions, according to what appears convenient or necessary upon the change or emergency of occasions. These Senators are for their lives, and the Senate was anciently chosen by the voices of the richer burghers, or freemen of the city, who upon the death of a Senator met together, either in a church, a market, or some other place spacious enough to receive their numbers; and there made an election of the person to succeed, by the majority of voices. But about a hundred and thirty or forty years ago, when the towns of Holland began to increase in circuit, and in people, so as these frequent assemblies grew into danger of tumult and disorder upon every occasion, by reason of their numbers and contention; this election of Senators came, by the resolution of the burghers in one of their general assemblies, to be devolved for ever upon the standing Senate at that time; so as ever since, when any one of their number dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the Senate, without any intervention of the other burghers; which makes the government a sort of Oligarchy, and very different from a popular government, as it is generally esteemed by those, who, passing or living in these countries,

countries, content themſelves with common obſervations or inquiries. And this reſolution of the burgners either was agreed upon, or followed, by general conſent or example, about the ſame time, in all the towns of the Province, though with ſome difference in number of their Senators.

By this Senate are choſen the chief Magiſtrates of the town, which are the Burgomaſters and Eſchevins: the Burgomaſters of Amſterdam are four, whereof three are choſen every year, ſo as one of them ſtays in office two years; but the three laſt choſen are called the *Reigning Burgomaſters* for that year, and preſide by turns, after the firſt three months; for, ſo long after a new election, the Burgomaſter of the year before preſides; in which time it is ſuppoſed the new ones will grow inſtructed in the forms and duties of their office, and acquainted with the ſtate of the city's affairs.

The Burgomaſters are choſen by moſt voices of all thoſe perſons in the Senate who have been either Burgomaſters or Eſchevins; and their authority reſembles that of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen in our cities. They repreſent the dignity of the government, and do the honour of the city upon all occaſions. They diſpoſe of all under-offices that fall in their time; and iſſue out all monies out of the common ſtock or treaſure, judging alone what is neceſſary for the ſafety, convenience, or dignity of the city. They keep the key of the bank of Amſterdam (the common treaſure of ſo many nations) which is never opened without the preſence of one of them: and they inſpect and purſue all the great public works of the city, as the Ramparts and Stadthouſe, now almoſt finiſhed with ſo great magnificence and ſo vaſt expence.

This office is a charge of the greateſt truſt, authority, and dignity; and ſo much the greater by not being of profit or advantage, but only as a way to other

other conſtant employments in the city, that are ſo. The ſalary of a Burgomaſter of Amſterdam is but five hundred guilders a year, though there are offices worth five thouſand in their diſpoſal; but yet none of them known to have taken money upon ſuch occaſions, which would loſe all their credit in the town, and thereby their fortunes by any public employments. They are obliged to no ſort of expence more than ordinary modeſt citizens, in their habits, their attendance, their tables, or any part of their own domeſtic. They are upon all public occaſions waited on by men in ſalary from the town; and whatever feaſts they make upon ſolemn days, or for the entertainment of any Princes or foreign miniſters, the charge is defrayed out of the common treaſure, but proportioned by their own diſcretion. At other times, they appear in all places with the ſimplicity and modeſty of other private citizens. When the Burgomaſters office expires, they are of courſe diſpoſed into the other charges or employments of the town, which are very many and beneficial; unleſs they loſe their credit with the Senate by any want of diligence or fidelity in the diſcharge of their office, which ſeldom arrives.

The Eſchevins are the court of juſtice in every town. They are at Amſterdam nine in number; of which ſeven are choſen annually; but two of the preceding year continue in office. A double number is named by the Senate, out of which the Burgomaſters now chuſe, as the Prince of Orange did in the former conſtitution. They are ſovereign judges in all criminal cauſes. In civil, after a certain value, there lies appeal to the court of juſtice of the Province. But they paſs ſentence of death upon no man without firſt adviſing with the Burgomaſters; though, after that form is paſſed, they proceed themſelves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomaſters opinion, but are left

left to their own: this being only a care or favour of supererogation to the life of a man, which is so soon cut off, and never to be retrieved or made amends for.

Under these sovereign magistrates, the chief subordinate officers of the town are, the Treasurers, who receive and issue out all monies that are properly the revenues or stock of the city: the Scout, who takes care of the peace, seizes all criminals, and sees the sentences of justice executed, and whose authority is like that of a Sheriff in a county with us, or a Constable in a parish: the Pensioner, who is a civil lawyer, versed in the customs, and records, and privileges of the town, concerning which he informs the magistracy upon occasion, and vindicates them upon disputes with other towns; he is a servant of the Senate and the Burgomasters, delivers their messages, makes their harangues upon all public occasions, and is not unlike the Recorder in one of our towns.

In this city of Amsterdam is the famous bank, which is the greatest treasure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the world. The place of it is a great vault under the Stadthouse, made strong with all the circumstances of doors and locks, and other appearing cautions of safety, that can be: and it is certain, that whoever is carried to see the bank, shall never fail to find the appearance of a mighty real treasure, in bars of gold and silver, plate, and infinite bags of metals, which are supposed to be all gold and silver, and may be so for aught I know. But, the Burgomasters only having the inspection of this bank, and no man ever taking any particular account of what issues in and out, from age to age, it is impossible to make any calculation, or guess, what proportion the real treasure may hold to the credit of it. Therefore the security of the bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the credit of the whole

town

town or ſtate of Amſterdam, whoſe ſtock and revenue is equal to that of ſome kingdoms; and who are bound to make good all monies that are brought into their bank: the tickets or bills hereof make all the uſual great payments, that are made between man and man in the town; and not only in moſt other places of the United Provinces, but in many other trading parts of the world. So as this bank is properly a general caſh, where every man lodges his money, becauſe he eſteems it ſafer, and eaſier paid in and out, than if it were in his coffers at home; and the bank is ſo far from paying any intereſt for what is there brought in, that money in the bank is worth ſomething more in common payments, than what runs current in coin from hand to hand; no other money paſſing in the bank, but in the ſpecies of coin the beſt known, the moſt aſcertained, and the moſt generally current in all parts of the Higher as well as the Lower Germany.

The revenues of Amſterdam ariſe out of the conſtant exciſe upon all ſorts of commodities bought and ſold within the precinct; or, out of the rents of thoſe houſes or lands that belong in common to the city; or, out of certain duties and impoſitions upon every houſe, towards the uſes of charity, and the repairs, or adornments, or fortifications of the place; or elſe, out of extraordinary levies conſented to by the Senate, for furniſhing the part of the public charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial States, for the uſe of the Province; or by the Deputies of the States of Holland in the States-General, for ſupport of the union. And all theſe payments are made into one common ſtock of the town, not, as many of ours are, into that of the pariſh, ſo as attempts may be eaſier made at the calculations of their whole revenue; and I have heard it affirmed, that what is paid of all kinds to public uſes of the States-General, the Province, and the city, in Amſterdam, amounts to above ſixteen hundred

hundred thouſand pounds Sterling a-year. But I enter into no computations, nor give theſe for any thing more, than what I have heard from men who pretended to make ſuch enquiries, which, I confeſs I did not. It is certain, that, in no town, ſtrength, beauty, and convenience are better provided for, nor with more unlimited expence, than in this, by the magnificence of their public buildings, as the Stadthouſe and Arſenals; the number and ſpaciouſneſs, as well as order and revenues, of their many hoſpitals; the commodiouſneſs of their canals, running through the chief ſtreets of paſſage; the mighty ſtrength of their baſtions and ramparts; and the neatneſs, as well as convenience, of their ſtreets, ſo far as can be compaſſed in ſo great a confluence of induſtrious people; all which could never be atchieved without a charge much exceeding what ſeems proportioned to the revenue of one ſingle town.

The Senate chuſes the Deputies which are ſent from this city to the States of Holland; the ſovereignty whereof is repreſented by Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, compoſing nineteen voices: of which the nobles have only the firſt, and the cities eighteen, according to the number of thoſe which are called *Stemms*, the other cities and towns of the Province having no voice in the States. Theſe cities were originally but ſix, Dort, Haerlem, Delf, Leyden, Amſterdam, and Tergou; but were increaſed, by Prince William of Naſſau, to the number of eighteen, by the addition of Rotterdam, Gorcum, Schedam, Schonoven, Briel, Alcmaer, Horne, Enchuſen, Edam, Moninckdam, Medenblick, and Permeren. This makes as great an inequality in the government of the Province, by ſuch a ſmall city as Permeren having an equal voice in the Provincial States with Amſterdam (which pays perhaps half of all charge of the Province) as ſeems to be in the States-General, by ſo ſmall a Province as

Overyſſel having an equal voice in the States-General with that of Holland, which contributes more than half to the general charge of the union. But this was by ſome writers of that age interpreted to be done by the Prince's authority, to leſſen that of the nobles, and balance that of the greater cities, by the voices of the ſmaller, whoſe dependences were eaſier to be gained and ſecured.

The Nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not repreſented by all their number, but by eight or nine, who as Deputies from their body have ſeſſion in the States Provincial; and who, when one among them dies, chuſe another to ſucceed him. Though they have altogether but one voice equal to the ſmalleſt town; yet they are very conſiderable in the government, by poſſeſſing many of the beſt charges both civil and military, by having the direction of all the eccleſiaſtical revenue that was ſeized by the State upon the change of religion, and by ſending their Deputies to all the councils both of the Generality and the Province, and by the nomination of one Counſellor in the two great courts of juſtice. They give their voice firſt in the Aſſembly of the States, and thereby a great weight to the buſineſs in conſultation. The Penſioner of Holland is ſeated with them, delivers their voice for them, and aſſiſts at all their deliberations, before they come to the Aſſembly. He is, properly, but miniſter or ſervant of the Province, and ſo his place or rank is behind all their Deputies; but has always great credit, becauſe he is perpetual, or ſeldom diſcharged; though of right he ought to be choſen or renewed every fifth year. He has place in all the ſeveral aſſemblies of the Province, and in the States propoſes all affairs, gathers the opinions, and forms or digeſts the reſolutions; pretending likewiſe a power, not to conclude any very important affair by plurality of voices, when he judges in his conſcience he

he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill consequence or prejudice to the Province. He is likewise one of their constant Deputies in the States-General.

The Deputies of the cities are drawn out of the Magistrates and Senate of each town: their number is uncertain and arbitrary, according to the customs or pleasure of the cities that send them, because they have all together but one voice, and are all maintained at their cities charge: but commonly one of the Burgomasters and the Pensioner are of the number.

The States of Holland have their session in the court at the Hague, and assemble ordinarily four times a-year, in February, June, September, and November. In the former sessions, they provide for the filling up of all vacant charges, and for renewing the farms of all the several taxes, and for consulting about any matters that concern either the general good of the Province, or any particular differences arising between the towns. But, in November, they meet purposely to resolve upon the continuance of the charge which falls to the share of their Province the following year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States-General, as necessary for the support of the State or Union.

For extraordinary occasions, they are convoked by a council called the *Gecommitteer de Raeden*, or the commissioned Counsellors, who are properly a Council of State of the Province, composed of several Deputies; one from the nobles; one from each of the chief towns; and but one from three of the smaller towns, each of the three chusing him by turns. And this council sits constantly at the Hague, and both proposes to the Provincial States, at their extraordinary assemblies, the matters of deliberation, and executes their resolutions.

In these assemblies, though all are equal in voices, and any one hinders a result; yet it seldom happens,

but that, united by one common bond of interest, and having all one common end of public good. they come after full debates to easy resolutions; yielding to the power of reason, where it is clear and strong, and suppressing all private passions or interests, so as the smaller part seldom contests, hard or long, what the greater agrees of. When the Deputies of the States agree in opinion, they send some of their number to their respective towns, proposing the affair and the reasons alledged, and desiring orders from them to conclude; which seldom fails, if the necessity or utility be evident: if it be more intricate, or suffers delay, the States adjourn for such a time, as admits the return of all the Deputies to their towns; where their influence and interest, and the impressions of the debates in their provincial assemblies, make the consent of the cities easier gained.

Besides the States and Council mentioned, the Province has likewise a Chamber of accounts, who manage the general revenues of the Province: and, besides this trust, they have the absolute disposition of the ancient demesne of Holland, without giving any account to the States of the Province. Only at times, either upon usual intervals, or upon a necessity of money, the States call upon them for a subsidy of two or three hundred thousand crowns, or more, as they are pressed, or conceive the chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general design of increasing the ease and fortunes of those persons who compose it. The States of Holland dispose of these charges to men grown aged in their service, and who have passed through most of the employments of State with the esteem of prudence and integrity; and such persons find here an honourable and profitable retreat.

The Provinces of Holland and Zealand, as they used formerly to have one Governor in the time of the houses of Burgundy and Austria; so they have long had

had one common judicature, which is exercised by two courts of justice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The first is composed of twelve Counsellors, nine of Holland and three of Zealand, of whom the Governor of the Provinces is the head; by the old constitution used to preside whenever he pleased, and to name all the Counsellors except one, who was chosen by the nobles. This court judges without appeal in all criminal causes; but in civil there lies appeal to the other court, which is called the High Council, from which there is no appeal, but only by petition to the States of the Province for a revision: when these judge there is reason for it, they grant letters patent to that purpose, naming some Syndiques out of the towns, who, being added to the Counsellors of the two former courts, revise and judge the cause in the last resort. And this course seems to have been instituted by way of supply or imitation of the chamber of Mechlin, to which, before the revolt of the Provinces, there lay an appeal, by way of revision, from all or most of the provincial courts of justice, as there still doth in the Spanish Provinces of the Netherlands.

The Union is made up of the seven sovereign Provinces before named, who chuse their respective Deputies, and send them to the Hague, for the composing of three several colleges, called the States-General, the Council of State, and the Chamber of accounts. The sovereign power of this united State lies effectively in the Assembly of the States-General, which used at first to be convoked, upon extraordinary occasions, by the Council of State; but that seldom, in regard they usually consisted of above eight hundred persons, whose meeting together in one place, from so many several parts, gave too great a shake to the whole body of the union; made the debates long, and sometimes confused; the resolutions slow, and, upon sudden occasions, out of time. In the absence of the

States-General, the Council of State represented their authority, and executed their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of a new convocation; till, after the Earl of Leicester's departure from the government, the Provincial States desired of the General, that they might, by their constant respective Deputies, continue their assemblies under the name of States-General, which were never after assembled but at Bergen op Zoom, for ratifying with more solemn form and authority the truce concluded with Duke Albert and Spain.

This desire of the Provinces was grounded upon the pretences that the Council of State convoked them but seldom, and at will; and that, being to execute all in their absence, they thereby arrogated to themselves too great an authority in the State. But a more secret reason had greater weight in this affair, which was, that the English Ambassador had, by agreement with Queen Elisabeth, a constant place in their Council of State; and, upon the distastes arising between the Provinces and the Earl of Leicester, with some jealousies of the Queen's dispositon to make a peace with Spain, they had no mind that her Ambassador should be present any longer in the first digestion of their affairs, which was then usually made in the Council of State. And hereupon they first framed the ordinary council, called the States-General, which has ever since passed by that name, and sits constantly in the court at the Hague, represents the sovereignty of the union, gives audience and dispatch to all foreign ministers; but yet is indeed only a representative of the States-General, the assemblies whereof are wholly disused.

The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the treasury, are all subordinate to this council: all of which are continued in as near a resemblance, as could be, to the several councils used in the time when the Provinces

ces were ſubject to their ſeveral principalities, or united under one in the houſes of Burgundy and Auſtria; only the ſeveral Deputies (compoſing one voice) now ſucceeding the ſingle perſons employed under the former government: and the Hague, which was the ancient ſeat of the Counts of Holland, ſtill continues to be ſo of all theſe councils; where the palace of the former Sovereigns lodges the Prince of Orange as Governor, and receives theſe ſeveral councils as attending ſtill upon the ſovereignty, repreſented by the States-General.

The members of all theſe councils are placed and changed by the ſeveral Provinces according to their different or agreeing cuſtoms. To the States-General every one ſends their Deputies, in what number they pleaſe; ſome two, ſome ten, or twelve; which makes no difference, becauſe all matters are carried, not by the votes of perſons, but of Provinces: and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many ſoever, have one ſingle vote. The Provinces differ likewiſe in the time fixed for their deputation; ſome ſending for a year, ſome for more, and others for life. The Province of Holland ſends to the States-General one of their nobles, who is perpetual; two Deputies choſen out of their eight chief towns, and one out of North Holland; and with theſe, two of their provincial council of State, and their Penſioner.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any perſon in military charge, has ſeſſion in the States-General. Every Province preſides their week in turns, and by the moſt qualified perſon of the Deputies of that Province: he ſits in a chair with arms, at the middle of a long table capable of holding about thirty perſons; for about that number this council is uſually compoſed of. The Greffier, who is in nature of a ſecretary, ſits at the lower end of the table. When a foreign miniſter has audience, he is ſeated at the middle of this table, overagainſt the Preſident, who propoſes all matters in

this assembly; makes the Greffier read all papers; puts the question; calls the voices of the Provinces; and forms the conclusion. Or, if he refuses to conclude according to the plurality, he is obliged to resign his place to the President of the ensuing week, who concludes for him.

This is the course in all affairs before them, except in cases of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raising or coining of monies, or the privileges of each Province or member of the union. In all which, all the Provinces must concur, plurality being not at all weighed or observed. This council is not sovereign, but only represents the sovereignty; and therefore, though Ambassadors are both received and sent in their name, yet neither are their own chosen, nor foreign ministers answered, nor any of those mentioned affairs resolved, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving orders from them; and in other important matters, though decided by plurality, they frequently consult with the Council of State.

Nor has this method or constitution ever been broken since their State began, excepting only in one affair, which was in January 1668, when his Majesty sent me over to propose a league of mutual defence with this State, and another for the preservation of Flanders from the invasion of France, which had already conquered a great part of the Spanish Provinces, and left the rest at the mercy of the next campaign. Upon this occasion I had the fortune to prevail with the States-General to conclude three treaties, and upon them draw up and sign the several instruments, in the space of five days, without passing the essential forms of their government by any recourse to the Provinces, which must likewise have had it to the several cities: there, I knew, those foreign ministers, whose duty and interest it was to oppose this affair, expected to meet and to elude it; which

which could not have failed, in caſe it had run that circle, ſince engaging the voice of one city muſt have broken it: it is true, that, in concluding theſe alliances without commiſſion from their principals, the Deputies of the States-General ventured their heads, if they had been diſowned by their Provinces; but being all unanimous, and led by the clear evidence of ſo direct and ſo important an intereſt (which muſt have been loſt by the uſual delays) they all agreed to run the hazard; and were ſo far from being diſowned, that they were applauded by all the members of every Province: having thereby changed the whole face of affairs in Chriſtendom, and laid the foundation of the triple alliance and the peace of Aix (which were concluded about four months after.) So great has the force of reaſon and intereſt ever proved in this State, not only to the uniting of all voices in their aſſemblies, but to the abſolving of the greateſt breach of their original conſtitutions; even in a State whoſe ſafety and greatneſs has been chiefly founded upon the ſevere and exact obſervance of order and method in all their counſels and executions. Nor have they ever uſed, at any other time, any greater means to agree and unite the ſeveral members of their union, in the reſolutions neceſſary, upon the moſt preſſing occaſions, than for the agreeing Provinces to name ſome of their ableſt perſons to go and confer with the diſſenting, and repreſent thoſe reaſons and intereſts by which they have been induced to their opinions.

The Council of State is compoſed of Deputies from the ſeveral Provinces, but after another manner than the States-General, the number being fixed. Gelderland ſends two, Holland three, Zealand and Utrecht two a-piece, Friezland, Overyſſel, and Groninguen, each of them one, making in all twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by perſonal voices; and every Deputy

Deputy preſides by turns. In this council the Governor of the Provinces has ſeſſion, and a deciſive voice; and the Treaſurer-General, ſeſſion, but a voice only deliberative; yet he has much credit here, being for life; and ſo is the perſon deputed to this council from the Nobles of Holland, and the Deputies of the Province of Zealand. The reſt are but for two, three, or four years.

The Council of State executes the reſolutions of the States-General; conſults and propoſes to them the moſt expedient ways of raiſing troops, and levying monies, as well as the proportions of both, which they conceive neceſſary in all conjunctures and revolutions of the ſtate; ſuperintends the milice, the fortifications, the contributions out of the enemies country, the forms and diſpoſal of all paſſports, and the affairs, revenues, and government of all places conquered ſince the union; which, being gained by the common arms of the State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the end of every year, this council forms a ſtate of the expence they conceive will be neceſſary for the year enſuing; preſents it to the States-General, deſiring them to demand ſo much of the States-Provincial, to be raiſed according to the uſual proportions, which are, of 100,000 guilders,

	Grs.	St.	D.
Gelderland	3612	05	00
Holland	58,309	01	10
Zealand	9183	14	02
Utrecht	5830	17	11
Friezland	11,661	15	10
Overyſſel	3571	08	04
Groninguen	5830	17	11

This

This petition, as it is called, is made to the States-General, in the name of the Governor and Council of State, which is but a continuance of the forms uſed in the time of their Sovereigns, and ſtill by the Governors and council of State in the Spaniſh Netherlands: petition ſignifying barely aſking or demanding, though implying the thing demanded to be wholly in the right and power of them that give. It was uſed by the firſt Counts only upon extraordinary occaſions and neceſſities; but in the time of the houſes of Burgundy and Auſtria grew to be a thing of courſe, and annual, as it is ſtill in the Spaniſh Provinces.

The Council of State diſpoſes of all ſums of money deſtined for all extraordinary affairs, and expedites the orders for the whole expence of the State, upon the reſolutions firſt taken, in the main, by the States-General. The orders muſt be ſigned by three Deputies of ſeveral Provinces, as well as by the Treaſurer-General, and then regiſtered in the chamber of accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them, which is then done without any difficulty, charge, or delay.

Every Province raiſes what monies it pleaſes, and by what ways or means, ſends its *quota*, or ſhare, of the general charge, to the Receiver General, and converts the reſt to the preſent uſe, or reſerves it for the future occaſions, of the Province.

The Chamber of accounts was erected about ſixty years ago, for the eaſe of the Council of State, to examine and ſtate all accounts of all the ſeveral receivers, to controul and regiſter the orders of the Council of State, which diſpoſes of the finances: and this chamber is compoſed of two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every three years.

Beſides theſe colleges, is the council of the Admiralty; who, when the States-General, by advice of the council of State, have deſtined a fleet of ſuch a number

number and force to be set out, have the absolute disposition of the marine affairs, as well in the choice and equipage of all the several ships, as in issuing the monies allotted for that service.

This college is subdivided into five, of which three are in Holland, viz. one in Amsterdam, another at Rotterdam, and the third at Horn: the fourth is at Middleburgh in Zealand, and the fifth at Harlinguen in Friezland. Each of these is composed of seven Deputies, four of that Province where the college resides; and three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or, in his absence, the Vice-Admiral, has session in all these colleges, and presides when he is present. They take cognizance of all crimes committed at sea; judge all pirates that are taken, and all frauds or negligences, in the payment or collections of the customs; which are particularly affected to the Admiralty, and applicable to no other use. This fund, being not sufficient in times of war, is supplied by the States with whatever more is necessary from other funds; but in time of peace, being little exhausted by other constant charge besides that of convoys to their several fleets of merchants in all parts, the remainder of this revenue is applied to the building of great ships of war, and furnishing the several arsenals and stores with all sorts of provision necessary for the building and rigging of more ships than can be needed by the course of a long war.

So soon as the number and force of the fleets designed for any expedition is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the council of State to the Admiralty; each particular college furnishes their own proportion, which is known, as well as that of the several Provinces, in all monies that are to be raised. In all which, the Admiral has no other share or advantage, besides his bare salary, and his proportion in prizes that are taken. The Captains and

superior

ſuperior officers of each ſquadron are choſen by the ſeveral colleges; the number of men appointed for every ſhip; after which, each Captain uſes his beſt diligence and credit to fill his number with the beſt men he can get, and takes the whole care and charge of victualling his own ſhip for the time intended for that expedition, and ſignified to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain rate of ſo much a man. And by the good or ill diſcharge of his truſt, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons, medicines, and all things neceſſary for the health of the men, each Captain grows into good or ill credit with the ſeamen, and, by their report, with the Admiralties; upon whoſe opinion and eſteem the fortune of all ſea-officers depends: ſo as, in all their expeditions, there appears rather an emulation among the particular Captains, who ſhall treat his ſeamen beſt in theſe points, and employ the monies allotted for their victualling to the beſt advantage, than any little knaviſh practices, of filling their own purſes by keeping their men's bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholeſome diet: upon which, and upon cleanlineſs in their ſhips, the health of many people crowded up into ſo little room ſeems chiefly to depend.

The ſalaries of all the great officers of this State are very ſmall: I have already mentioned that of a Burgomaſter's of Amſterdam to be about fifty pounds Sterling a-year: that of their Vice-Admiral (for, ſince the laſt Prince of Orange's death, to the year 1670, there had been no Admiral) is five hundred, and that of the Penſioner of Holland two hundred.

The greatneſs of this State ſeems much to conſiſt in theſe orders, how confuſed ſoever, and of different pieces, they may ſeem; but more in two main effects of them, which are, the good choice of the officers of chief truſt in the Cities, Provinces, and State: and the great ſimplicity and modeſty in the common port

or

or living of their chiefeſt miniſters; without which, the abſoluteneſs of the Senates in each town, and the immenſity of taxes through the whole State, would never be endured by the people with any patience; being both of them greater than in many of thoſe governments which are eſteemed moſt arbitrary among their neighbours. But, in the aſſemblies and debates of their Senates, every man's abilities are diſcovered, as their diſpoſitions are in the conduct of their lives and domeſtique among their fellow-citizens. The obſervation of theſe either raiſes, or ſuppreſſes, the credit of particular men, both among the people, and the Senates, of their towns; who, to maintain their authority with leſs popular envy and diſcontent, give much to the general opinion of the people in the choice of their Magiſtrates: by this means it comes to paſs, that, though perhaps the nation generally be not wiſe, yet the government is, becauſe it is compoſed of the wiſeſt of the nation; which may give it an advantage over many others, where ability is of more common growth, but of leſs uſe to the public; if it happens that neither wiſdom nor honeſty are the qualities which bring men to the management of ſtate-affairs, as they uſually do in this commonwealth.

Beſides, though theſe people, who are naturally cold and heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furniſh a pleaſant or agreeable converſation, yet they want not plain downright ſenſe to underſtand and do their buſineſs both public and private, which is a talent very different from the other; and I know not whether they often meet: for the firſt proceeds from heat of the brain, which makes the ſpirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the motions of thought lighter and quicker, and the range of imagination much greater than in cold heads where the ſpirits are more earthy and dull: thought moves ſlower and heavier, but

but thereby the impreſſions of it are deeper, and laſt longer; one imagination being not ſo frequently, nor ſo eaſily, effaced by another, as where new ones are continually ariſing. This makes duller men more conſtant and ſteady, and quicker men more inconſtant and uncertain; whereas the greateſt ability in buſineſs ſeems to be the ſteady purſuit of ſome one thing, till there is an end of it, with perpetual application and endeavour not to be diverted by every repreſentation of new hopes or fears of difficulty or danger, or of ſome better deſign. The firſt of theſe talents cuts like a razor, the other like a hatchet; one has thinneſs of edge, and fineneſs of metal and temper, but is eaſily turned by any ſubſtance that is hard and reſiſts: the other has toughneſs and weight which makes it cut through, or go deep wherever it falls; and therefore one is for adornment, the other for uſe.

It may be ſaid further, that the heat of the heart commonly goes along with that of the brain; ſo that paſſions are warmer, where imaginations are quicker: and there are few men (unleſs in caſe of ſome evident natural defect) but have ſenſe enough to diſtinguiſh in groſs between right and wrong, between good and bad, when repreſented to them; and conſequently have judgment enough to do their buſineſs, if it be left to itſelf, and not ſwayed nor corrupted by ſome humour or paſſion, by anger or pride, by love or by ſcorn, ambition or avarice, delight or revenge: ſo as that the coldneſs of paſſion ſeems to be the natural ground of ability and honeſty among men, as the government or moderation of them the great end of philoſophical and moral inſtructions. Theſe ſpeculations may perhaps a little leſſen the common wonder, how we ſhould meet with in one nation ſo little ſhew of parts and of wit, and ſo great evidence of wiſdom and prudence, as has appeared in the conduct

duct and successes of this State, for near an hundred years; which needs no other testimony, than the mighty growth and power it arrived to from so weak and contemptible seeds and beginnings.

The other circumstance I mentioned, as an occasion of their greatness, was the simplicity and modesty of their Magistrates in their way of living, which is so general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular air: and so great, that, of the two chief officers in my time, Vice-Admiral De Ruiter and the Pensioner De Witt (one generally esteemed by foreign nations as great a seaman, and the other as great a statesman, as any of their age) I never saw the first in cloaths better than the commonest sea-captain, nor with above one man following him, nor in a coach; and, in his own house, neither was the size, building, furniture, or entertainment, at all exceeding the use of every common merchant and tradesman in his town. For the Pensioner De Witt, who had the great influence in the government, the whole train and expence of his domestique went very equal with other common Deputies or ministers of the State; his habit grave, and plain, and popular; his table, what only served turn for his family, or a friend; his train (besides commissaries and clerks kept for him, in an office adjoining to his house, at the public charge) was only one man, who performed all the menial service of his house at home; and, upon his visits of ceremony, putting on a plain livery-cloak, attended his coach abroad: for, upon other occasions, he was seen usually in the streets on foot, and alone, like the commonest burgher of the town. Nor was this manner of life affected, or used only by these particular men, but was the general fashion and mode among all the magistrates of the State: for I speak not of the military officers, who are reckoned their servants,

ſervants, and live in a different garb, though generally modeſter than in other countries.

Thus this ſtomachful people, who could not endure the leaſt exerciſe of arbitrary power or impoſitions, or the ſight of any foreign troops, under the Spaniſh government, have ſince been inured to all of them, in the higheſt degree, under their own popular magiſtrates; bridled with hard laws, terrified with ſevere executions, environed with foreign forces; and oppreſſed with the moſt cruel hardſhip and variety of taxes that was ever known under any government; but all this, whilſt the way to office and authority lies through thoſe qualities which acquire the general eſteem of the people; whilſt no man is exempted from the danger and current of laws; whilſt ſoldiers are confined to frontier garriſons (the guard of inland or trading towns being left to the burghers themſelves;) and whilſt no great riches are ſeen to enter by public payments into private purſes, either to raiſe families, or to feed the prodigal expences of vain, extravagant, and luxurious men; but all public monies are applied to the ſafety, greatneſs, or honour of the State, and the Magiſtrates themſelves bear an equal ſhare in all the burdens they impoſe.

The authority of the Princes of Orange, though intermitted upon the untimely death of the laſt, and infancy of this preſent Prince; yet, as it muſt be ever acknowledged to have had a moſt eſſential part in the firſt frame of this government, and in all the fortunes thereof, during the whole growth and progreſs of the State: ſo has it ever preſerved a very ſtrong root, not only in ſix of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular affections of the Province of Holland itſelf, whoſe States have, for theſe laſt twenty years, ſo much endeavoured to ſuppreſs, or exclude it.

This began in the perſon of Prince William of Naſſau, at the very birth of the State, and not ſo much

much by the quality of being Governor of Holland and Zealand in Charles V's and Philip II's time, as by the eſteem of ſo great wiſdom, goodneſs, and courage, as excelled in that Prince, and ſeems to have been from him derived to his whole race; being, indeed, the qualities that naturally acquire eſteem and authority among the people, in all governments. Nor has this nation in particular, ſince the time perhaps of Civilis, ever been without ſome head, under ſome title or other; but always an head ſubordinate to their laws and cuſtoms, and to the ſovereign power of the State.

In the firſt conſtitution of this government, after the revolt from Spain, all the power and rights of Prince William of Orange, as Governor of the Provinces, ſeem to have been carefully reſerved. But thoſe which remained inherent in the Sovereign, were devolved upon the aſſembly of the States-General, ſo as in them remained the power of making peace and war, and all foreign alliances, and of raiſing and coining of monies: in the Prince, the command of all land and ſea forces, as Captain-general and Admiral, and thereby the diſpoſition of all military commands, the power of pardoning the penalty of crimes, the chuſing of magiſtrates upon the nomination of the towns; for they preſented three to the Prince who elected one out of that number. Originally the States-General were convoked by the council of State, where the Prince had the greateſt influence; nor, ſince that change, have the States uſed to reſolve any important matter without his advice. Beſides all this, as the States-General repreſented the ſovereignty, ſo did the Prince of Orange the dignity, of this State, by public guards, and the attendance of all military officers; by the application of all foreign miniſters, and all pretenders at home; by the ſplendor of his court and magnificence of his expence; ſupported not only by the

the penſions and rights of his ſeveral charges and commands, but by a mighty patrimonial revenue in lands and ſovereign principalities and lordſhips, as well in France, Germany, and Burgundy, as in the ſeveral parts of the Seventeen Provinces; ſo as Prince Henry was uſed to anſwer ſome that would have flattered him into the deſigns of a more arbitrary power, that he had as much as any wiſe Prince would deſire in that State; ſince he wanted none indeed, beſides that of puniſhing men, and raiſing money; whereas he had rather the envy of the firſt ſhould lie upon the forms of the government, and he knew the other could never be ſupported, without the conſent of the people, to that degree which was neceſſary for the defence of ſo ſmall a State againſt ſo mighty Princes as their neighbours.

Upon theſe foundations was this State firſt eſtabliſhed, and by theſe orders maintained till the death of the laſt Prince of Orange: when, by the great influence of the Province of Holland among the reſt, the authority of the Princes came to be ſhared among the ſeveral magiſtracies of the State: thoſe of the cities aſſumed the laſt nomination of their ſeveral Magiſtrates; the States Provincial, the diſpoſal of all military commands in thoſe troops, which their ſhare was to pay; and the States-General, the command of the armies, by officers of their own appointment, ſubſtituted and changed at their will. No power remained to pardon what was once condemned by rigour of law; nor any perſon to repreſent the port and dignity of a Sovereign State: both which could not fail of being ſenſibly miſſed by the people; ſince no man in particular can be ſecure of offending, or would therefore abſolutely deſpair of impunity himſelf, though he would have others do ſo; and men are generally pleaſed with the pomp and ſplendor of a government,

not only as it is an amuſement for idle people, but as it is a mark of the greatneſs, honour, and riches of their country.

However; theſe defects were for near twenty years ſupplied in ſome meaſure, and this frame ſupported, by the great authority and riches of the Province of Holland, which drew a ſort of dependence from the other ſix; and by the great ſufficiency, integrity, and conſtancy of their chief Miniſter, and by the effect of both in the proſperous ſucceſſes of their affairs: yet, having been a conſtitution ſtrained againſt the current vein and humour of the people, it was always evident, that, upon the growth of this young Prince, the great virtues and qualities he derived from the mixture of ſuch royal and ſuch princely blood, could not fail, in time, of raiſing his authority to equal at leaſt, if not to ſurpaſs, that of his glorious anceſtors.

Becauſe the Curious may deſire to know ſomething of the other Provinces, as well as Holland, at leaſt in general, and where they differ; it may be obſerved, that the conſtitutions of Gelderland, Zealand, and Utrecht agree much with thoſe of Holland; the States in each Province being compoſed of Deputies from the Nobles and the cities: but with theſe ſmall differences; in Gelderland, all the Nobles, that have certain fees or lordſhips in the Province, have ſeſſion; they compoſe one half of the States, and the Deputies of the towns the other; and, though ſome certain perſons among them are deputed to the States-General, yet any of the Nobles of Gelder may have place there, if he will attend at his own charge.

In Zealand, the nobility having been extinguiſhed in the Spaniſh wars, and the Prince of Orange poſſeſſing the marquiſates of Fluſhing and Terveer, his Highneſs alone makes that part of the States in the Province, by the quality and title of firſt or ſole Noble of Zealand; and thereby has, by his Deputy, the

the firſt place and voice in the States of the Province, the Council of State, and Chamber of accounts: as Sovereign of Fluſhing and Terveer, he likewiſe creates the Magiſtrates, and conſequently diſpoſes the voices, not only of the Nobles, but alſo of two towns; whereas there are in all but ſix that ſend their Deputies to the States, and make up the ſovereignty of the Province.

In Utrecht, beſides the Deputies of the Nobles and towns, eight Delegates of the Clergy have ſeſſion, and make a third member in the States of the Province. Theſe are elected out of the four great Chapters of the town, the preferments and revenues whereof (though anciently eccleſiaſtical) yet are now poſſeſſed by lay-perſons, who are moſt of them gentlemen of the Province.

The government of the Province of Friezland is wholly different from that of the four Provinces already mentioned; and is compoſed of four members, which are called, the Quarter of Oſtergo, conſiſting of eleven Baillages; of Weſtergo, conſiſting of nine; and of Seveawolden, conſiſting of ten. Each Baillage comprehends a certain number of villages, ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty, according to their ſeveral extents. The fourth member conſiſts of the towns of the Province, which are eleven in number. Theſe four members have each of them right of ſending their Deputies to the States, that is, two choſen out of every Baillage, and two out of every town. And theſe repreſent the ſovereignty of the Province, and deliberate and conclude of all affairs, of what importance ſoever, without any recourſe to thoſe who deputed them, or obligation to know their intentions; which the Deputies of all the former Provinces are ſtrictly bound to, and either muſt follow the inſtructions they bring with them to the aſſembly, or know

the resolution of their principals, before they conclude of any new affair that arises.

In the other Provinces, the nobles of the towns chuse the Deputies which compose the State; but, in Friezland, the constitution is of quite another sort: for every Baillage, which is composed of a certain extent of country and number of villages (as has been said) is governed by a Bailie, whom, in their language, they call *Greetman*; and this officer governs his circuit, with the assistance of a certain number of persons who are called his assessors, who together judge of all civil causes in the first instance, but with appeal to the court of justice of the Province. When the States are convoked, every Bailie assembles together all the persons of what quality soever, who possess a certain quantity of lands within his district; and these men, by most voices, name the two Deputies which each Baillage sends to the assembly of the States.

This assembly, as it represents the sovereignty of the Province, so it disposes of all vacant charges, chuses the nine Deputies who compose that permanent college which is the Council of State of the Province, and likewise twelve Counsellors (that is, three for every quarter) who compose the court of justice of the Province, and judge of all civil causes in the last resort, but of all criminal from the first instance, there being no other criminal jurisdiction, but this only, through the Province; whereas, in the other Provinces, there is no town which has it not within itself; and several, both Lords, and villages, have the high and low justice belonging to them.

In the Province of Groninguen, which is upon the same tract of land, the elections of the Deputies out of the country are made as in Friezland, by persons possessed of set proportions of land; but, in Overys-

Overyſſel, all Nobles who are qualified by having ſeigneurial lands, make a part of the States.

Theſe three Provinces, with Weſtphalia, and all thoſe countries between the Wezer, the Yſſel, and the Rhine, were the ſeat of the ancient Frizons, who, under the name of Saxons (given them from the weapon they wore, made like a ſcithe, with the edge outwards, and called in their language *Seaxes)* were the fierce conquerors of our Britiſh Iſland, being called in upon the deſertion of the Roman forces, and the cruel incurſions of the Picts, againſt a people whoſe long wars, at firſt with the Romans, and afterwards ſervitude under them, had exhauſted all the braveſt blood of their nation, either in their own, or their maſters, ſucceeding quarrels, and depreſſed the hearts and courages of the reſt.

The Biſhop of Munſter, whoſe territories lie in this tract of land, gave me the firſt certain evidences of thoſe being the ſeats of our ancient Saxons, which have ſince been confirmed to me by many things I have obſerved in reading the ſtories of thoſe times, and by what has been affirmed to me upon enquiry of the Frizons old language having ſtill ſo great affinity with our old Engliſh, as to appear eaſily to have been the ſame; moſt of their words ſtill retaining the ſame ſignification and ſound, very different from the language of the Hollanders. This is the moſt remarkable in a little town called Malcuera upon the Zudder ſea, in Friezland, which is ſtill built after the faſhion of the old German villages, deſcribed by Tacitus; without any uſe or obſervation of lines or angles, but as if every man had built in a common field, juſt where he had a mind, ſo as a ſtranger, when he goes in, muſt have a guide to find the way out again.

Upon theſe informations and remarks, and the particular account afterwards given me of the conſtitu-

tions of the Province of Friezland, so different from the others; I began to make reflections upon them as the likeliest originals of many ancient constitutions among us, of which no others can be found, and which may seem to have been introduced by the Saxons here, and by their long and absolute possession of that part of the isle, called England, to have been so planted and rooted among us, as to have waded safe, in a great measure, through the succeeding inundations and conquests of the Danish and Norman nations. And, perhaps, there may be much matter found for the curious remarks of some diligent and studious antiquaries, in the comparisons of the Bailli or Greetman among the Frizons, with our Sheriff: of their Assessors, with our justices of the peace: of their judging civil causes in their district, upon the first resort, but not without appeal, with the course of our Quarter-Sessions: of their chief judicature, being composed of Counsellors of four several quarters, with our four circuits. Of these being the common criminal judicature of the country: of the composition of their States, with our Parliament, at least, our house of Commons: in the particulars of two Deputies being chosen from each town, as with us, and two from each Baillage, as from each county here: and these last by voices of all persons possessed of a certain quantity of land, and at a meeting assembled by the Greetman to that purpose: and these Deputies having power to resolve of all matters without resort to those that chuse them, or knowledge of their intentions; which are all circumstances agreeing with our constitutions, but absolutely differing from those of the other Provinces in the United States, and from the composition, I think, of the States, either now, or formerly, used in the other nations of Europe.

To

To this original, I ſuppoſe, we likewiſe owe what I have often wondered at, that in England we neither ſee, nor find upon record, any Lord, or lordſhip that pretends to have the exerciſe of judicature belonging to it, either that which is called high or low juſtice, which ſeems to be a badge of ſome ancient ſovereignty: though we ſee them very frequent among our neighbours, both under more arbitrary monarchies and under the moſt free and popular States.

CHAP. III.

Of their ſituation.

HOlland, Zealand, Friezland, and Groninguen are ſeated upon the ſea, and make the ſtrength and greatneſs of this State: the other three, with the conquered towns in Brabant, Flanders, and Cleve, make only the outworks or frontiers, ſerving chiefly for ſafety and defence of theſe. No man can tell the ſtrange and mighty changes, that may have been made in the face and bounds of maritime countries, at one time or other, by furious inundations, upon the unuſual concurrence of land-floods, winds, and tides; and therefore no man knows, whether the Province of Holland may not have been, in ſome paſt ages, all wood, and rough unequal ground, as ſome old traditions go; and levelled to what we ſee, by the ſea's breaking in, and continuing long upon the land, ſince recovered by its receſs, and with the help of induſtry. For it is evident, that the ſea, for ſome ſpace of years, advances continually upon one coaſt, retiring from the oppoſite; and, in another age, quite changes this courſe, yielding up what it had ſeized, and ſeizing what it had yielded up, without any reaſon to be given of ſuch contrary motions. But, I ſuppoſe, this great change was made in Holland,

land, when the sea first parted England from the continent, breaking through a neck of land between Dover and Calais; which may be a tale, but I am sure is no record. It is certain, on the contrary, that sixteen hundred years ago there was no usual mention or memory of any such changes; and that the face of all these coasts, and nature of the soil, especially that of Holland, was much as it is now; allowing only the improvements, of riches, time, and industry; which appears by the description made in Tacitus[a], both of the limits of the isle of Batavia, and the nature of the soil, as well as the climate, with the very names and course of rivers, still remaining.

It is likely, the changes arrived since that age in these countries may have been made by stoppages grown in time with the rolling of sands upon the mouths of three great rivers, which disembogued into the sea through the coasts of these Provinces; that is, the Rhine, the Maes, and the Scheld. The ancient Rhine divided, where Skenckschonce now stands, into two rivers; of which, one kept the name, till, running near Leyden, it fell into the sea at Catwick; where are still seen, at low tides, the foundations of an ancient Roman Castle that commanded the mouth of this river: but this is wholly stopped up, though a great canal still preserves the name of the old Rhine. The Maes, running by Dort and Rotterdam, fell, as it now does, into the sea at the Briel, with mighty issues of water; but the sands, gathered for three or four leagues upon this coast, make the haven extreme dangerous, without great skill of pilots, and

[a] Rhenus—apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur—ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior, verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine, ejusque immenso ore eundem in oceanum effunditur.

Cum interim flexu autumni, et crebris imbribus superfusus amnis, paluſtrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit.

use

uſe of pilot-boats, that come out with every tide, to welcome and ſecure the ſhips bound for that river: and it is probable, that theſe ſands, having obſtructed the free courſe of the river, have at times cauſed or increaſed thoſe inundations, out of which ſo many iſlands have been recovered, and of which that part of the country is ſo much compoſed.

The Scheld ſeems to have had its iſſue by Walcherin in Zealand, which was an iſland in the mouth of that river, till the inundations of that, and the Maes, ſeem to have been joined together by ſome great helps or irruptions of the ſea, by which the whole country was overwhelmed, which now makes that inland ſea that ſerves for a common paſſage between Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant: the ſea, for ſome leagues from Zealand, lies generally upon ſuch banks of ſand, as it does upon the mouth of the Maes, though ſeparated by ſomething better channels than are found in the other.

That which ſeems likelieſt to have been the occaſion of ſtopping up wholly one of theſe rivers, and obſtructing the others, is the courſe of weſterly winds (which drive upon this ſhore) being ſo much more conſtant and violent than the Eaſt: for, taking the ſeaſons and years one with another, I ſuppoſe, there will be obſerved three parts of Weſterly for one Eaſterly wind: beſides, that theſe generally attend the calm froſts and fair weather; and the other ſtormy and foul. And I have had occaſion to make experiment of the ſands riſing and ſinking before a haven, by two fits of theſe contrary winds, above four feet. This, I preſume, is likewiſe the natural reaſon of ſo many deep and commodious havens found upon all the Engliſh ſide of the channel, and ſo few (or indeed none) upon the French and Dutch: an advantage ſeeming to be given us by nature, and never

ver to be equalled by any art or expence of our neighbours.

I remember no mention in ancient authors of that which is now called the Zudder ſea; which makes me imagine that it may have been formed likewiſe by ſome great inundation, breaking in between the Teſſel-iſlands, and others, that lie ſtill in a line contiguous, and like the broken remainders of a continued coaſt. This ſeems more probable, from the great ſhallowneſs of that ſea, and flatneſs of the ſands, upon the whole extent of it; from the violent rage of the waters breaking in that way, which threaten the parts of North-Holland about Medenblick and Enchuſen, and brave it over the higheſt and ſtrongeſt digues of the Province, upon every high tide, and ſtorm at North-Weſt; as likewiſe from the names of Eaſt and Weſt Friezland, which ſhould have been one continent, till divided by this ſea: for, in the time of Tacitus[c], no other diſtinction was known, but that of greater or leſſer Frizons, and that only from the meaſure of their numbers, or forces; and, though they were ſaid to have great lakes among them, yet that word ſeems to import they were of freſh water, which is made yet plainer by the word[d] *ambiunt*, that ſhews thoſe lakes to have been inhabited round by theſe nations; from all this I ſhould gueſs, that the more inland part of the Zudder ſea was one of the lakes there mentioned, between which and the Teſſel and Ulie iſlands there lay anciently a great tract of land (where the ſands are ſtill ſo ſhallow, and ſo continued, as ſeems to make it evident) but ſince covered by ſome great irruptions of waters, that joined thoſe of the ſea and the lake together, and thereby made that great bay, now

[c] A fronte Friſii excipiunt: majoribus minoribuſque Friſiis vocabulum eſt, ex modo virium: utraeque nationes uſque ad oceanum Rheno praetexuntur.

[d] Ambiuntque immenſos inſuper lacus. Tacit. De mor. Ger.

ealled

called the Zudder ſea, by favour whereof the town of Amſterdam has grown to be the moſt frequented haven of the world.

Whatever it was, whether nature or accident, and upon what occaſion ſoever it arrived, the ſoil of the whole Province of Holland is generally flat, like the ſea in a calm, and looks as if, after a long contention between land and water, which it ſhould belong to, it had at length been divided between them: for to conſider the great rivers, and the ſtrange number of canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great town, but almoſt to every village, and every farm-houſe in the country; and the infinity of ſails that are ſeen every-where courſing up and down upon them; one would imagine the water to have ſhared with the land, and the people that live in boats to hold ſome proportion with thoſe that live in houſes. And this is one great advantage towards trade, which is natural to the ſituation, and not to be attained in any country where there is not the ſame level and ſoftneſs of ſoil, which makes the cutting of canals ſo eaſy work, as to be attempted almoſt by every private man: and one horſe ſhall draw in a boat more than fifty can do in a cart: whereas carriage makes a great part of the price in all heavy commodities: and, by this eaſy way of travelling, an induſtrious man loſes no time from his buſineſs, for he writes, eats, or ſleeps, while he goes; whereas the time of labouring or induſtrious men is the greateſt native commodity of any country.

There is, beſides, one very great lake of freſh water ſtill remaining in the midſt of this Province, by the name of Harle Maer, which might, as they ſay, be eaſily drained, and would thereby make a mighty addition of land to a country where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great quantity of people, in which they abound, and who make their greatneſs and riches.

riches. Much discourse there has been about such an attempt; but the city of Leyden, having no other way of refreshing their town, or renewing the water of their canals, but from this Maer, will never consent to it. On the other side, Amsterdam will ever oppose the opening and cleansing of the old channel of the Rhine, which, they say, might easily be compassed, and by which the town of Leyden would grow maritime, and share a great part of the trade now engrossed by Amsterdam. There is in North-Holland an essay already made at the possibility of draining these great lakes, by one of about two leagues broad having been made firm land, within these forty years: this makes that part of the country called the Bemster, being now the richest soil of the Province, lying upon a dead flat, divided with canals, and the ways through it distinguished with ranges of trees, which make the pleasantest summer landscape of any country I have seen of that sort.

Another advantage of their situation for trade is made by those two great rivers of the Rhine and Maes, reaching up, and navigable so mighty a length, into so rich and populous countries of the higher and lower Germany; which as it brings down all the commodities from those parts to the magazines of Holland, that vent them by their shipping into all parts of the world, where the market calls for them; so, with something more labour and time, it returns all the merchandizes of other parts into those countries that are seated upon those streams. For their commodious seat, as to the trade of the Straits, or Baltic, or any parts of the ocean, I see no advantage they have of most parts of England; and they must certainly yield to many we possess, if we had other equal circumstances to value them.

The

The lowneſs and flatneſs of their lands makes in a great meaſure the richneſs of their ſoil, that is eaſily overflowed every winter, ſo as the whole country, at that ſeaſon, ſeems to lie under water, which, in ſpring, is driven out again by mills. But that which mends the earth, ſpoils the air, which would be all fog and miſt, if it were not cleared by the ſharpneſs of their froſts, which never fail with every Eaſt wind for about four months of the year, and are much fiercer than in the ſame latitude with us, becauſe that wind comes to them over a mighty length of dry continent; but is moiſtened by the vapours, or ſoftened by the warmth of the ſea's motion, before it reaches us.

And this is the greateſt diſadvantage of trade they receive from their ſituation, though neceſſary to their health; becauſe many times their havens are all ſhut up for two or three months with ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce ſharpneſs of theſe winds makes the changes of their weather and ſeaſons more violent and ſurpriſing, than in any place I know; ſo as a warm faint air turns in a night to a ſharp froſt, with the wind coming into the North-Eaſt: and the contrary with another change of wind. The ſpring is much ſhorter, and leſs agreeable, than with us; the winter much colder, and ſome parts of the ſummer much hotter, and I have known, more than once, the violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold fit of an ague to the hot, without any good temper between.

The flatneſs of their land expoſes it to the danger of the ſea, and forces them to infinite charge in the continual fences and repairs of their banks to oppoſe it; which employ yearly more men, than all the corn of the Province of Holland could maintain (as one of their chief Miniſters has told me.) They have lately

lately found the common ſea-weed to be the beſt marterial for theſe digues, which, faſtened with a thin mixture of earth, yields a little to the force of the ſea, and returns when the waves give back: whether they are thereby the ſafer againſt water, as, they ſay, houſes that ſhake are againſt wind; or whether, as pious naturaliſts obſerve, all things carry about them that which ſerves for a remedy againſt the miſchief they do in the world.

The extreme moiſture of the air I take to be the occaſion of the great neatneſs of their houſes, and cleanlineſs in their towns. For without the help of thoſe cuſtoms their country would not be habitable by ſuch crowds of people, but the air would corrupt upon every hot ſeaſon, and expoſe the inhabitants to general and infectious diſeaſes; which they hardly eſcape three ſummers together, eſpecially about Leyden, where the waters are not ſo eaſily renewed; and for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe, it is, that Leyden is found to be the neateſt and cleanlieſt kept, of all their towns.

The ſame moiſture of air makes all metals apt to ruſt and wood to mould; which forces them, by continual pains of rubbing and ſcowering, to ſeek a prevention, or cure: this makes the brightneſs and cleanneſs that ſeems affected in their houſes, and is called natural to them, by people who think no further. So the deepneſs of their ſoil, and wetneſs of ſeaſons, which would render it unpaſſable, forces them, not only to exactneſs of paving in their ſtreets, but to the expence of ſo long cawſeys between many of their towns, and in their highways: as, indeed, moſt national cuſtoms are the effect of ſome unſeen or unobſerved natural cauſes or neceſſities.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of their people and diſpoſitions.

THE people of Holland may be divided into theſe ſeveral claſſes: the clowns or boors (as they call them) who cultivate the land: the mariners or ſchippers, who ſupply their ſhips and inland-boats: the merchants or traders, who fill their towns: the Renteeners, or men that live in all their chief cities upon the rents or intereſt of eſtates formerly acquired in their families: and the Gentlemen, and officers of their armies.

The firſt are a race of people diligent rather than laborious; dull and ſlow of underſtanding, and ſo not dealt with by haſty words, but managed eaſily by ſoft and fair; and yielding to plain reaſon, if you give them time to underſtand it. In the country and villages not too near the great towns, they ſeem plain and honeſt, and content with their own; ſo that if, in bounty, you give them a ſhilling for what is worth but a groat, they will take the current price, and give you the reſt again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and ſometimes aſk, if you are a fool. They know no other good but the ſupply of what nature requires, and the common increaſe of wealth. They feed moſt upon herbs, roots, and milks; and by that means, I ſuppoſe, neither their ſtrength nor vigour ſeem anſwerable to the ſize or bulk of their bodies.

The mariners are a plain, but much rougher people; whether from the element they live in, or from their food, which is generally fiſh and corn, and heartier than that of the boors. They are ſurly and ill-mannered, which is miſtaken for pride; but, I believe, is learned, as all manners are, by the converſation we

uſe. Now theirs lying only among one another, or with winds and waves, which are not moved or wrought upon by any language or obſervance, or to be dealt with, but by pains and by patience; theſe are all the qualities their mariners have learned; their valour is paſſive rather than active; and their language is little more, than what is of neceſſary uſe to their buſineſs.

The merchants and tradeſmen, both the greater and mechanic, living in towns that are of great reſort, both by ſtrangers and paſſengers of their own, are more mercurial (wit being ſharpened by commerce and converſation of cities) though they are not very inventive, which is the gift of warmer heads; yet are they great in imitation, and ſo far, many times, as goes beyond originals: of mighty induſtry, and conſtant application to the ends they propoſe and purſue. They make uſe of their ſkill, and their wit, to take advantage of other men's ignorance and folly they deal with; are great exacters, where the law is in their own hands: in other points, where they deal with men that underſtand like themſelves, and are under the reach of juſtice and laws, they are the plaineſt and beſt dealers in the world; which ſeems not to grow ſo much from a principle of conſcience, or morality, as from a cuſtom or habit introduced by the neceſſity of trade among them, which depends as much upon common honeſty, as war does upon diſcipline; and without which all would break up, merchants would turn pedlars, and ſoldiers thieves.

Thoſe families, which live upon their patrimonial eſtates in all the great cities, are a people differently bred and mannered from the traders, though like them in the modeſty of garb and habit, and the parſimony of living. Their youth are generally bred up at ſchools, and at the univerſities at Leyden or Utrecht, in the common ſtudies of human learning, but chiefly of the

civil law, which is that of their country, at leaſt as far as it is ſo in France and Spain. For (as much as I underſtand of thoſe countries) no deciſions or decrees of the civil law, nor conſtitutions of the Roman Emperors, have the force or current of law among them, as is commonly believed, but only the force of reaſons when alledged before their courts of judicature, as far as the authority of men eſteemed wiſe paſſes for reaſon: but the ancient cuſtoms of thoſe ſeveral countries, and the ordonnances of their Kings and Princes, conſented to by the Eſtates, or in France verified by Parliaments, have only the ſtrength and authority of law among them.

Where theſe families are rich, their youths, after the courſe of their ſtudies at home, travel for ſome years, as the ſons of our gentry uſe to do; but their journeys are chiefly into England and France, not much into Italy, ſeldomer into Spain, nor often into the more northern countries, unleſs in company or train of their public Miniſters. The chief end of their breeding is, to make them fit for the ſervice of their country in the magiſtracy of their towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of theſe kind of men are the civil officers of this government generally compoſed, being deſcended of families who have many times been conſtantly in the magiſtracy of their native towns for many years, and ſome for ſeveral ages.

Such were moſt or all of the chief Miniſters, and the perſons that compoſed their chief councils, in the time of my reſidence among them; and not men of mean or mechanic trades, as it is commonly received among foreigners, and makes the ſubject of comical jeſts upon their government. This does not exclude many merchants, or traders in groſs, from being often ſeen in the offices of their cities, and ſometimes deputed to their States; nor ſeveral of their States from turning their ſtocks in the management of ſome

very beneficial trade by ſervants, and houſes maintained to that purpoſe. But the generality of the States and Magiſtrates are of the other ſort; their eſtates conſiſting in the penſions of their public charges, in the rents of lands, or intereſt of money upon the Cantores, or in actions of the Eaſt-India company, or in ſhares upon the adventures of great trading merchants.

Nor do theſe families, habituated as it were to the magiſtracy of their towns and provinces, uſually arrive at great or exceſſive riches; the ſalaries of public employments and intereſt being low, but the revenue of lands being yet very much lower, and ſeldom exceeding the profit of two in the hundred. They content themſelves with the honour of being uſeful to the public, with the eſteem of their cities or their country, and with the eaſe of their fortunes; which ſeldom fails, by the frugality of their living, grown univerſal by being (I ſuppoſe) at firſt neceſſary, but ſince honourable, among them.

The mighty growth and exceſs of riches is ſeen among the merchants and traders, whoſe application lies wholly that way, and who are the better content to have ſo little ſhare in the government, deſiring only ſecurity in what they poſſeſs; troubled with no cares but thoſe of their fortunes, and the management of their trades, and turning the reſt of their time and thought to the divertiſement of their lives. Yet theſe, when they attain great wealth, chuſe to breed up their ſons in the way, and marry their daughters into the families, of thoſe others moſt generally credited in their towns, and verſed in their magiſtracies; and thereby introduce their families into the way of government and honour, which conſiſts not here in titles, but in public employments.

The next rank among them is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who, in the province of Holland

(to

(to which I chiefly confine theſe obſervations) are very few, moſt of the families having been extinguiſhed in the long wars with Spain. But thoſe that remain, are in a manner all employed in the military or civil charges of the Province or State. Theſe are, in their cuſtoms, and manners, and way of living, a good deal different from the reſt of the people; and, having been bred much abroad, rather affect the garb of their neighbour-courts, than the popular air of their own country. They value themſelves more upon their Nobility, than men do in other countries, where it is more common; and would think themſelves utterly diſhonoured by the marriage of one that was not of their rank, though it were to make up the broken fortune of a noble family by the wealth of a Plebeian. They ſtrive to imitate the French in their mien, their cloaths, their way of talk, of eating, of gallantry or debauchery; and are, in my mind, ſomething worſe than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making ſometimes but ill copies, whereas they might be good originals, by refining or improving the cuſtoms or virtues proper to their own country and climate. They are otherwiſe an honeſt, well-natured, friendly, and gentlemanly ſort of men, and acquit themſelves generally with honour and merit, where their country employs them.

The officers of their armies live after the cuſtoms and faſhions of the gentlemen; and ſo do many ſons of the rich merchants, who, returning from travel abroad, have more deſigns upon their own pleaſure, and the vanity of appearing, than upon the ſervice of their country: or, if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the army than the State. And all theſe are generally deſirous to ſee a court in their country, that they may value themſelves at home, by the qualities they have learned abroad; and make a figure which agrees better with their own humour, and the

manner of courts, than with the cuſtoms and orders that prevail in more popular governments.

There are ſome cuſtoms, or diſpoſitions, that ſeem to run generally through all theſe degrees of men among them; as great frugality, and order, in their expences. Their common riches lie in every man's having more than he ſpends; or, to ſay it more properly, in every man's ſpending leſs than he has coming in, be that what it will: nor does it enter into men's heads among them, that the common port or courſe of expence ſhould equal the revenue; and, when this happens, they think at leaſt they have lived that year to no purpoſe; and the train of it diſcredits a man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal extravagance does in other countries. This enables every man to bear their extreme taxes, and makes them leſs ſenſible than they would be in other places; for he that lives upon two parts in five of what he has coming in, if he pays two more to the State, he does but part with what he ſhould have laid up, and had no preſent uſe for; whereas he that ſpends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the fiftieth part to the public, it goes from him, like that which was neceſſary to buy bread or cloaths for himſelf or his family.

This makes the beauty and ſtrength of their towns, the commodiouſneſs of travelling in their country by their canals, bridges, and cawſeys; the pleaſantneſs of their walks, and their grafts in and near all their cities: and, in ſhort, the beauty, convenience, and ſometimes magnificence, of all public works, to which every man pays as willingly, and takes as much pleaſure and vanity in them, as thoſe of other countries do in the ſame circumſtances, among the poſſeſſions of their families, or private inheritance. What they can ſpare, beſides the neceſſary expence of their domeſtique, the public payments, and the common courſe

courſe of ſtill increaſing their ſtock, is laid out in the fabric, adornment, or furniture of their houſes, things not ſo tranſitory, or ſo prejudicial to health and to buſineſs, as the conſtant exceſſes and luxury of tables; nor perhaps altogether ſo vain as the extravagant expences of cloaths and attendance; at leaſt, theſe end wholly in a man's ſelf, and the ſatisfaction of his perſonal humour; whereas the other make not only the riches of a family, but contribute much towards the public beauty and honour of a country.

The order, in caſting up their expences, is ſo great and general, that no man offers at any undertaking which he is not prepared for, and maſter of his deſign, before he begins; ſo as I have neither obſerved nor heard of any building, public or private, that has not been finiſhed in the time deſigned for it. So are their canals, cawſeys, and bridges; ſo was their way, from the Hague to Skeveling, a work that might have become the old Romans, conſidering how ſoon it was diſpatched. The houſe at the Hague, built purpoſely for caſting of cannon, was finiſhed in one ſummer, during the heat of the firſt Engliſh war, and looked rather like a deſign of vanity in their government, than neceſſity or uſe. The ſtadthouſe of Amſterdam has been left purpoſely to time, without any limitation in the firſt deſign, either of that, or of expence; both that the diligence and the genius of ſo many ſucceeding Magiſtrates ſhould be employed in the collection of all things, that could be eſteemed proper to increaſe the beauty or magnificence of that ſtructure; and, perhaps, a little to reprieve the experiment of a current prediction, That the trade of that city ſhould begin to fall, the ſame year the ſtadthouſe ſhould be finiſhed, as it did at Antwerp.

Charity ſeems to be very national among them, though it be regulated by orders of the country, and not uſually moved by the common objects of com-

passion. But it is seen in the admirable provisions that are made out of it for all sorts of persons that can want, or ought to be kept in a government. Among the many and various hospitals, that are in every man's curiosity and talk that travels their country, I was affected with none more than that of the aged seamen at Enchuysen, which is contrived, finished, and ordered, as if it were done with a kind intention of some well-natured man, that those, who had passed their whole lives in the hardships and incommodities of the sea, should find a retreat stored with all the eases and conveniences, that old age is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met with the only rich man, that ever I saw in my life: for one of these old seamen entertaining me a good while with the plain stories of his fifty years voyages and adventures, while I was viewing their hospital, and the church adjoining; I gave him, at parting, a piece of their coin about the value of a crown: he took it smiling, and offered it me again; but, when I refused it, he asked me, What he should do with money? for all, that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their house. I left him to overcome his modesty as he could; but a servant, coming after me, saw him give it to a little girl that opened the church-door, as she passed by him: which made me reflect upon the fantastic calculation of riches and poverty that is current in the world, by which a man, that wants a million, is a Prince; he, that wants but a groat, is a beggar; and this was a poor man, that wanted nothing at all.

In general, all appetites and passions seem to run lower and cooler here, than in other countries where I have conversed. Avarice may be excepted. And yet that shall not be so violent, where it feeds only upon industry and parsimony, as where it breaks out into fraud, rapine, and oppression. But quarrels are seldom seen among them, unless in their drink, revenge

venge rarely heard of, or jealouſy known. Their tempers are not airy enough for joy, or any unuſual ſtrains of pleaſant humour, nor warm enough for love. This is talked of ſometimes among the younger men, but as a thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a diſcourſe that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known ſome among them, that perſonated lovers well enough; but none that I ever thought were at heart in love; nor any of the women, that ſeemed at all to care whether they were ſo or no. Whether it be, that they are ſuch lovers of their liberty, as not to bear the ſervitude of a miſtreſs, any more than that of a maſter; or, that the dulneſs of the air renders them leſs ſuſceptible of more refined paſſions; or, that they are diverted from it by the general intention every man has upon his buſineſs, whatever it is (nothing being ſo mortal an enemy of love, that ſuffers no rival, as any bent of thought another way.)

The ſame cauſes may have had the ſame effects among their married women, who have the whole care and abſolute management of all their domeſtique; and live with very general good fame: a certain ſort of chaſtity being hereditary and habitual among them, as probity among the men.

The ſame dulneſs of air may diſpoſe them to that ſtrange aſſiduity and conſtant application of their minds, with that perpetual ſtudy and labour upon any thing they deſign and take in hand. This gives them patience to purſue the queſt of riches by ſo long voyages and adventures to the Indies, and by ſo long parſimony as that of their whole lives. Nay, I have (for a more particular example of this diſpoſition among them) known one man that employed four and twenty years about the making and perfecting of a globe, and another above thirty about the inlaying of a table. Nor does any man know, how much

much may have been contributed towards the great things in all kinds, both public and private, that have been atchieved among them, by this one humour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to paſs, nor leaving one ſcent to follow another they meet with; which is the property of the lighter and more ingenious nations: and the humour of a government being uſually the ſame with that of the perſons that compoſe it, not only in this, but in all other points; ſo as, where men that govern are wiſe, good, ſteady, and juſt, the government will appear ſo too; and the contrary, where they are otherwiſe.

The ſame qualities in their air may incline them to the entertainments and cuſtoms of drinking, which are ſo much laid to their charge, and, for aught I know, may not only be neceſſary to their health (as they generally believe it) but to the vigour and improvement of their underſtandings, in the midſt of a thick foggy air, and ſo much coldneſs of temper and complexion. For though the uſe or exceſs of drinking may deſtroy men's abilities who live in better climates, and are of warmer conſtitutions; wine to hot brains being like oil to fire, and making the ſpirits, by too much lightneſs, evaporate into ſmoke, and perfect airy imaginations; or, by too much heat, rage into frenzy, or at leaſt into humours and thoughts that have a great mixture of it; yet, on the other ſide, it may improve men's parts and abilities of cold complexions, and in dull air; and may be neceſſary to thaw and move the frozen and unactive ſpirits of the brain; to rouſe ſleepy thought, and refine groſſer imaginations, and perhaps to animate the ſpirits of the heart, as well as enliven thoſe of the brain: therefore the old Germans ſeemed to have ſome reaſon in their cuſtom, not to execute any great reſolutions which had not been twice debated and agreed at two ſeveral aſſemblies, one in an afternoon, and the other in a morning; becauſe, they thought, their

their counſels might want vigour when they were ſober, as well as caution when they had drunk.

Yet, in Holland, I have obſerved very few of their chief officers or Miniſters of State vicious in this kind; or, if they drank much, it was at ſet feaſts, and rather to acquit themſelves, than of choice or inclination: and for the merchants and traders, with whom it is cuſtomary, they never do it in a morning, nor till they come from the Exchange, where the buſineſs of the day is commonly diſpatched; nay, it hardly enters into their heads, that it is lawful to drink at all before that time; but they will excuſe it, if you come to their houſe, and tell you how ſorry they are you come in a morning, when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that time of day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themſelves, but ſo much as for a ſtranger to do it within their walls.

The afternoon, or, at leaſt, the evening, is given to whatever they find will divert them; and is no more than needs, conſidering how they ſpend the reſt of the day, in thought, or in cares; in toils, or in buſineſs. For nature cannot hold out with conſtant labour of body, and as little with conſtant bent or application of mind: much motion of the ſame parts of the brain either wearies and waſtes them too faſt for repair, or elſe (as it were) fires the wheels, and ſo ends either in general decays of the body, or diſtractions of the mind (for theſe are uſually occaſioned by perpetual motions of thought about ſome one object; whether it be about one's ſelf in exceſſes of pride, or about another in thoſe of love, or of grief.) Therefore none are ſo excuſable as men of much care and thought, or of great buſineſs, for giving up their times of leiſure to any pleaſures or diverſions that offend no laws, nor hurt others or themſelves: and this ſeems the reaſon, that, in all

civil

civil constitutions, not only honours, but riches, are annexed to the charges of those who govern, and upon whom the public cares are meant to be devolved; not only, that they may not be distracted from these, by the cares of their own domestic or private interests; but that, by the help of esteem, and of riches, they may have those pleasures and diversions in their reach, which idle men neither need nor deserve, but which are necessary for their refreshment, or repair of spirits exhausted with cares and with toil, and which serve to sweeten and preserve those lives that would otherwise wear out too fast, or grow too uneasy in the service of the public.

The two characters that are left by the old Roman writers, of the ancient Batavi[s] or Hollanders, are, that they were both the bravest among the German nations, and the most obstinate lovers and defenders of their liberties; which made them exempted from all tributes by the Romans, who desired only soldiers of their nation, to make up some of their auxiliary bands, as they did in former ages of those nations in Italy that were their friends and allies. The last disposition seems to have continued constant and national among them, ever since that time, and never to have more appeared, than in the rise and constitutions of their present State. It does not seem to be so of the first, or that the people in general can be said now to be valiant; a quality, of old, so national among them, and which, by the several wars of the Counts of Holland (especially with the Frizons) and by the desperate defences made against the Spaniards, by this people, in the beginnings of their State,

[s] Queruntur (Fabii Valentis) legiones, orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio, veteres illos et tot bellorum auctores non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimos artus. TACIT. hist.

Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt. TACIT. de mor. Ger.

should

ſhould ſeem to have laſted long, and to have but lately decayed: that is, ſince the whole application of their natives has been turned to commerce and trade, and the vein of their domeſtic lives ſo much to parſimony (by circumſtances which will be the ſubject of another chapter;) and ſince the main of all their forces, and body of their army has been compoſed, and continually ſupplied out of their neighbour-nations.

For ſoldiers and merchants are not found, by experience, to be more incompatible in their abode, than the diſpoſitions and cuſtoms ſeem to be different, that render a people fit for trade, and for war. The ſoldier thinks of a ſhort life, and a merry. The trader reckons upon a long, and a painful. One intends to make his fortunes ſuddenly by his courage, by victory and ſpoil: the other ſlower, but ſurer, by craft, by treaty, and by induſtry. This makes the firſt frank and generous, and throw away upon his pleaſures what has been gotten in one danger, and may either be loſt, or repaired, in the next: the other, wary and frugal, and loth to part with, in a day, what he has been labouring for a year, and has no hopes to recover, but by the ſame paces of diligence and time. One aims only to preſerve what he has, as the fruit of his father's pains; or what he ſhall get, as the fruit of his own: t'other thinks the price of a little blood is more than of a great deal of ſweat, and means to live upon other men's labours, and poſſeſs, in an hour, what they have been years in acquiring: this makes one love to live under ſtanch orders and laws; while t'other would have all depend upon arbitrary power and will. The trader reckons upon growing richer, and by his account better, the longer he lives; which makes him careful of his health, and his life, and ſo apt to be orderly and temperate in his diet; while the ſoldier is thoughtleſs, or prodigal of both; and having not his meat ready at hours, or when he has a mind

mind to it, eats full and greedy whenever he gets to it; and perhaps difference of diet may make greater difference in men's natural courage, than is commonly thought of.

For courage may proceed, in some measure, from the temper of air, may be formed by discipline, and acquired by use, or infused by opinion; but that which is more natural, and so more national in some countries than in others, seems to arise from the heat or strength of spirits about the heart, which may a great deal depend upon the measures and the substance of the food men are used to. This made a great physician among us say, he would make any man a coward with six weeks dieting; and Prince Maurice of Orange call for the English that were newly come over, and had (as he said) their own beef in their bellies, for any bold and desperate action. This may be one reason, why the gentry, in all places of the world, are braver than the peasantry, whose hearts are depressed, not only by slavery, but by short and heartless food, the effect of their poverty. This is a cause, why the yeomanry and commonalty of England are generally braver than in other countries, because by the plenty and constitutions of the kingdom they are so much easier in their rents and their taxes, and fare so much better and fuller than those of their rank in any other nation. Their chief, and, indeed, constant food, being of flesh: and among all creatures, both the birds and the beasts, we shall still find those, that feed upon flesh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary, the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon grass, and upon plants. I think, there can be pretended but two exceptions to this rule, which are the cock and the horse; whereas the courage of the one is noted no where but in England, and there only in certain races: and for the other, all the courage we commend in them is, the want of fear; and they are

observed

obſerved to grow much fiercer, whenever by cuſtom, or neceſſity, they have been uſed to fleſh.

From all this may be inferred, that not only the long diſuſe of arms among the native Hollanders, (eſpecially at land) and making uſe of other nations chiefly in their milice; but the arts of trade, as well as peace, and their great parſimony in diet, and eating ſo very little fleſh (which the common people ſeldom do above once a week) may have helped to debaſe much the ancient valour of the nation, at leaſt in the occaſions of ſervice at land. Their ſeamen are much better, but not ſo good as thoſe of Zealand, who are generally brave; which, I ſuppoſe, comes by theſe having upon all occaſions turned ſo much more to privateering, and men of war; and thoſe of Holland being generally employed in trading and merchant-ſhips; while their men of war are manned by mariners of all nations, who are very numerous among them, but eſpecially thoſe of the Eaſtland coaſts of Germany, Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians.

It is odd, that veins of courage ſhould ſeem to run like veins of good earth in a country, and yet not only thoſe of the Province of Hainault among the Spaniſh, and of Gelderland among the United Provinces, are eſteemed better ſoldiers than the reſt; but the burghers of Valenciennes among the towns of Flanders, and of Nimeguen among thoſe of the Lower-Gelder, are obſerved to be particularly brave. But there may be firmneſs and conſtancy of courage from tradition, as well as of belief: nor, methinks, ſhould any man know how to be a coward, that is brought up with the opinion, that all of his nation or city have ever been valiant.

I can ſay nothing of what is uſually laid to their charge, about their being cruel, beſides what we have ſo often heard of their barbarous uſage to ſome of our men in the Eaſt-Indies, and what we have ſo lately

lately seen of their savage murder of their Pensioner De Wit; a person that deserved another fate, and a better return from his country, after eighteen years spent in their ministry, without any care of his entertainments or ease, and little of his fortune. A man of unwearied industry, inflexible constancy, sound, clear, and deep understanding, and untainted integrity; so that, whenever he was blinded, it was by the passion he had for that which he esteemed the good and interest of his State. This testimony is justly due to him from all that practised him; and is the more willingly paid, since there can be as little interest to flatter, as honour to reproach the dead. But this action of that people may be attributed to the misfortune of their country; and is so unlike the appearance of their customs and dispositions, living, as I saw them, under the orders and laws of a quiet and settled state; that one must confess mankind to be a very various creature, and none to be known, that has not been seen in his rage, as well as his drink.

They are generally not so long-lived, as in better airs; and begin to decay early, both men and women, especially at Amsterdam: for at the Hague (which is their best air) I have known two considerable men a good deal above seventy, and one of them in very good sense and health: but this is not so usual as it is in England, and in Spain. The diseases of the climate seem to be chiefly the gout and the scurvy; but all hot and dry summers bring some that are infectious among them, especially into Amsterdam and Leyden: these are usually fevers, and lie most in the head, and either kill suddenly, or languish long before they recover. Plagues are not so frequent, at least not in a degree to be taken notice of, for all suppress the talk of them as much as they can, and no distinction is made in the registry of the dead, nor much in the

the care and attendance of the ſick: whether from a belief of predeſtination, or elſe a preference of trade, which is the life of the country, before that of particular men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the ſpleen, but thoſe of the country ſeldom or never: which I take to proceed from their being ever buſy, or eaſily ſatisfied. For this ſeems to be the diſeaſe of people that are idle, or think themſelves but ill entertained, and attribute every fit of dull humour, or imagination, to a formal diſeaſe, which they have found this name for; whereas ſuch fits are incident to all men, at one time or other, from the fumes of indigeſtion, from the common alterations of ſome inſenſible degrees in health and vigour [e]; or from ſome changes or approaches of change in winds and weather, which affect the finer ſpirits of the brain, before they grow ſenſible to other parts; and are apt to alter the ſhapes, or colours, of whatever is repreſented to us by our imaginations, whilſt we are ſo affected. Yet this effect is not ſo ſtrong, but that buſineſs, or intention of thought, commonly either reſiſts, or diverts it: and thoſe, who underſtand the motions of it, let it paſs, and return to themſelves. But ſuch as are idle, or know not from whence theſe changes ariſe, and trouble their heads with notions or ſchemes of general happineſs or unhappineſs in life, upon every ſuch fit, begin reflections on the condition of their bodies, their ſouls, or their fortunes; and (as all things are then repreſented in the worſt colours) they fall into

[e] —Ubi tempeſtas et cœli mobilis humor
Mutavere vias; et Jupiter humidus auſtris
Denſat, erant quæ rara modo, et quæ denſa relaxat;
Vertuntur ſpecies animorum, et pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
Concipiunt: hinc illæ avium concentus in agris,
Et lætæ pecudes, et ovantes gutture corvi.
VIRG. Georg.

melancholy apprehenſions of one or other, and ſometimes of them all: theſe make deep impreſſion on their minds, and are not eaſily worn out by the natural returns of good humour, eſpecially if they are often interrupted by the contrary; as happens in ſome particular conſtitutions, and more generally in uncertain climates, eſpecially if improved by accidents of ill health, or ill fortune. But this is a diſeaſe too refined for this country and people, who are well, when they are not ill; and pleaſed, when they are not troubled; are content, becauſe they think little of it; and ſeek their happineſs in the common eaſes and commodities of life, or the increaſe of riches; not amuſing themſelves with the more ſpeculative contrivances of paſſion, or refinements of pleaſure.

To conclude this chapter, Holland is a country, where the earth is better than the air, and profit more in requeſt than honour; where there is more ſenſe than wit; more good nature than good humour; and more wealth than pleaſure: where a man would chuſe rather to travel than to live; ſhall find more things to obſerve than deſire; and more perſons to eſteem than to love. But the ſame qualities and diſpoſitions do not value a private man and a ſtate, nor make a converſation agreeable, and a government great: nor is it unlikely, that ſome very great King might make but a very ordinary private gentleman, and ſome very extraordinary gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

CHAP. V.

Of their religion.

I Intend not here to ſpeak of religion at all as a Divine, but as a mere ſecular man, when I obſerve the occaſions that ſeem to have eſtabliſhed it in the forms,

forms, or with the liberties, wherewith it is now attended in the United Provinces. I believe the reformed religion was introduced there, as well as in England, and the many other countries where it is profeſſed, by the operation of divine will and providence; and by the ſame, I believe, the roman catholic was continued in France; where it ſeemed, by the conſpiring of ſo many accidents in the beginning of Charles the IX's reign, to be ſo near a change. And whoever doubts this, ſeems to queſtion not only the will, but the power, of God. Nor will it at all derogate from the honour of a religion, to have been planted in a country by ſecular means, or civil revolutions, which have, long ſince, ſucceeded to thoſe miraculous operations that made way for chriſtianity in the world. It is enough, that God Almighty infuſes belief into the hearts of men, or elſe ordains it to grow out of religious inquiries and inſtructions; and that, where-ever the generality of a nation come by theſe means to be of a belief, it is by the force of this concurrence introduced into the government, and becomes the eſtabliſhed religion of that country. So was the reformed profeſſion introduced into England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and many parts of Germany. So was the roman catholic reſtored in France and in Flanders; where, notwithſtanding the great concuſſions that were made in the government by the Hugonots and the Gueuſes, yet they were never eſteemed in either of thoſe countries to amount further than the ſeventh or eighth part of the people. And whoſoever deſigns the change of religion in a country or government, by any other means than that of a general converſion of the people, or the greateſt part of them, deſigns all the miſchiefs to a nation, that uſe to uſher in, or attend, the two greateſt diſtempers of a State, civil war, or tyranny; which are violence, oppreſſion, cruelty, ra-

pine, intemperance, injuſtice, and, in ſhort, the miſerable effuſion of human blood, and the confuſion of all laws, orders, and virtues among men.

Such conſequences as theſe, I doubt, are ſomething more than the diſputed opinions of any man, or any particular aſſembly of men, can be worth; ſince the great and general end of all religion, next to men's happineſs hereafter, is their happineſs here; as appears by the commandments of God, being the beſt and greateſt moral and civil, as well as divine, precepts, that have been given to a nation; and by the rewards propoſed to the piety of the Jews, throughout the Old Teſtament, which were the bleſſings of this life, as health, length of age, number of children, plenty, peace, or victory.

Now the way to our future happineſs has been perpetually diſputed throughout the world, and muſt be left at laſt to the impreſſions made upon every man's belief and conſcience, either by natural or ſupernatural arguments and means; which impreſſions men may diſguiſe or diſſemble, but no man can reſiſt. For belief is no more in a man's power, than his ſtature, or his feature; and he that tells me, I muſt change my opinion for his, becauſe it is the truer and the better, without other arguments, that have to me the force of conviction; may as well tell me, I muſt change my grey eyes, for others like his that are black, becauſe theſe are lovelier, or more in eſteem. He that tells me I muſt inform myſelf, has reaſon, if I do it not: but if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps more than he ever did, and yet ſtill differ from him; and he, that, it may be, is idle, will have me ſtudy on, and inform myſelf better, and ſo to the end of my life; then I eaſily underſtand what he means by informing, which is, in ſhort, that I muſt do it, till I come to be of his opinion.

If

If he, that, perhaps, purſues his pleaſures or intereſts, as much, or more, than I do, and allows me to have as good ſenſe, as he has, in all other matters, tells me, I ſhould be of his opinion, but that paſſion or intereſt blinds me; unleſs he can convince me how, or where, this lies, he is but where he was, only pretends to know me better than I do myſelf, who cannot imagine, why I ſhould not have as much care of my ſoul, as he has of his.

A man that tells me, my opinions are abſurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreaſonable, becauſe they differ from his, ſeems to intend a quarrel inſtead of a diſpute; and calls me fool or mad-man, with a little more circumſtance; though, perhaps, I paſs for one as well in my ſenſes as he, as pertinent in talk, and as prudent in life: yet theſe are the common civilities, in religious argument, of ſufficient and conceited men, who talk much of right reaſon, and mean always their own; and make their private imagination the meaſure of general truth. But ſuch language determines all between us, and the diſpute comes to end in three words at laſt, which it might as well have ended in at firſt, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

The other great end of religion, which is our happineſs here, has been generally agreed on by all mankind, as appears in the records of all their laws, as well as all their religions, which come to be eſtabliſhed by the concurrence of men's cuſtoms and opinions[c]; though, in the latter, that concurrence may have been produced by divine impreſſions or inſpirations. For all agree in teaching and commanding, in planting and improving, not only thoſe moral virtues which conduce to the felicity and tranquility of

[c] Fiunt adverſæ reſpublicæ ex civium moribus, qui, quocunque fluxerint, cætera ſecum rapiunt. PLAT. De Rep.

every man's private life, but also those manners and dispositions that tend to the peace, order, and safety of all civil societies and governments among men. Nor could I ever understand, how those who call themselves, and the world usually calls, *religious men*, come to put so great weight upon those points of belief which men never have agreed in, and so little upon those of virtue and morality, in which they have hardly ever disagreed; nor, why a State should venture the subversion of their peace, and their order, which are certain goods, and so universally esteemed, for the propagation of uncertain or contested opinions.

One of the great causes of the first revolt in the Low-Countries appeared to be, the oppression of men's consciences, or persecution in their liberties, their estates and their lives, upon pretence of religion; and this at a time when there seemed to be a conspiring disposition in most countries of Christendom, to seek the reformation of some abuses, grown in the doctrine and discipline of the Church, either by the rust of time, by negligence, or by human inventions, passions, and interests. The rigid opposition, given at Rome to this general humour, was followed by a defection of mighty numbers in all those several countries, who professed to reform themselves according to such rules as they thought were necessary for the reformation of the Church. These persons, though they agreed in the main of disowning the Papal power, and reducing belief from the authority of tradition to that of the Scripture; yet they differed much among themselves in other circumstances, especially of discipline, according to the persuasions and impressions of the leading Doctors in their several countries. So the reformed of France became universally Calvinists; but for those of Germany, though they were generally

rally Lutherans, yet there was a great mixture both of Calviniſts and Anabaptiſts among them.

The firſt perſecutions of theſe reformed aroſe in Germany, in the time of Charles V, and drove great numbers of them down into the Seventeen Provinces, eſpecially Holland and Brabant, where the privileges of the cities were greater, and the Emperor's government was leſs ſevere, as among the ſubjects of his own native countries. This was the occaſion, that in the year 1566, when, upon the firſt inſurrection in Flanders, thoſe of the reformed profeſſion began to form conſiſtories, and levy contributions among themſelves for ſupport of their common cauſe; it was reſolved, upon conſultation among the heads of them, that for declining all differences among themſelves, at a time of common exigence, the public profeſſion of their party ſhould be that of the Lutherans, though with liberty and indulgence to thoſe of different opinions. By the union of Utrecht, concluded in 1579, each of the Provinces was left to order the matter of religion, as they thought fit and moſt conducing to the welfare of their Province; with this proviſion, that every man ſhould remain free in his religion, and none be examined or entraped for that cauſe, according to the pacification at Ghent. But, in the year 1583, it was enacted by general agreement, that the Evangelical religion ſhould be only profeſſed in all the Seven Provinces: which came thereby to be the eſtabliſhed religion of this State.

The reaſons which ſeemed to induce them to this ſettlement, were many, and of weight: as firſt, becauſe by the perſecutions arrived in France (where all the reformed were Calviniſts) multitudes of people had retired out of that kingdom into the Low-Countries: and by the great commerce and continual intercourſe with England, where the reformation

agreed much with the Calviniſts in point of doctrine, though more with the Lutherans in point of diſcipline, thoſe opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any other, among the people of theſe Provinces, ſo as the numbers were grown to be greater far in the cities of this than of any other profeſſion. Secondly, the ſuccours and ſupplies both of men and money, by which the weak beginnings of this commonwealth were preſerved and fortified, came chiefly from England, from the Proteſtants of France (when their affairs were ſucceſsful) and from the Calviniſt Princes in Germany, who lay neareſt, and were readieſt to relieve them. In the next place, becauſe thoſe of this profeſſion ſeemed the moſt contrary and violent againſt the Spaniards, who made themſelves heads of the Roman Catholics throughout Chriſtendom; and the hatred of Spain, and their dominion, was ſo rooted in the hearts of this people, that it had influence upon them in the very choice of their religion. And laſtly, becauſe, by this profeſſion, all rights and juriſdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being ſuppreſſed, there was no eccleſiaſtical authority left to riſe up, and trouble or fetter the civil power; and all the goods and poſſeſſions of churches and abbeys were ſeized wholly into the hands of the State, which made a great increaſe of the public revenue, a thing the moſt neceſſary for the ſupport of their government.

There might perhaps be added one reaſon more, which was particular to one of the Provinces: for, whereas in moſt, if not all, other parts in Chriſtendom, the Clergy compoſed one of the three Eſtates of the country, and thereby ſhared with the Nobles and Commons in their influences upon the government, that order never made any part of the Eſtates in Holland, nor had any vote in their aſſembly, which conſiſted only of the Nobles and the cities; and this

Pro-

Province, bearing always the greateſt ſway in the councils of the Union, was moſt inclined to the ſettlement of that profeſſion which gave leaſt pretence of power or juriſdiction to the Clergy, and ſo agreed moſt with their own ancient conſtitutions.

Since this eſtabliſhment, as well as before, the great care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious inquiſition into the faith or religious principles of any peaceable man, who came to live under the protection of their laws, and to ſuffer no violence or oppreſſion upon any man's conſcience, whoſe opinions broke not out into expreſſions or actions of ill conſequence to the State. A free form of government, either making way for more freedom in religion, or elſe, having newly contended ſo far themſelves for liberty in this point, they thought it the more unreaſonable for them to oppreſs others. Perhaps, while they were ſo threatened and endangered by foreign armies, they thought it the more neceſſary to provide againſt diſcontents within, which can never be dangerous, where they are not grounded or fathered upon oppreſſion, in point either of religion or liberty: But, in thoſe two caſes, the flame often proves moſt violent in a State, the more it is ſhut up, or the longer concealed.

The Roman Catholic religion was alone excepted from the common protection of their laws, making men (as the States believed) worſe ſubjects than the reſt, by the acknowledgment of a foreign and ſuperior juriſdiction; for ſo muſt all ſpiritual power needs be, as grounded upon greater hopes and fears than any civil, at leaſt where-ever the perſuaſions from faith are as ſtrong as thoſe from ſenſe; of which there are ſo many teſtimonies recorded by the martyrdoms, penances, or conſcientious reſtraints and ſeverities, ſuffered by infinite perſons in all ſorts of religion.

Beſides,

Beſides, this profeſſion ſeemed ſtill a retainer of the Spaniſh government, which was then the great patron of it in the world: yet, ſuch was the care of this State to give all men eaſe in this point, who aſk no more than to ſerve God, and ſave their own ſouls, in their own way and forms; that what was not provided for, by the conſtitutions of their government, was ſo, in a very great degree, by the connivance of their officers, who, upon certain conſtant payments from every family, ſuffer the exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion in their ſeveral juriſdictions, as free and eaſy, though not ſo cheap, and ſo avowed, as the reſt. This, I ſuppoſe, has been the reaſon, that though thoſe of this profeſſion are very numerous in the country, among the peaſants, and conſiderable in the cities, and not admitted to any public charges; yet they ſeem to be a ſound piece of the State, and faſt jointed in with the reſt; and have neither given any diſturbance to the government, nor expreſſed any inclinations to a change, or to any foreign power, either upon the former wars with Spain, or the later invaſions of the Biſhop of Munſter.

Of all other religions, every man enjoys the free exerciſe in his own chamber, or his own houſe, unqueſtioned and uneſpied: and if the followers of any ſect grow ſo numerous in any place, that they affect a public congregation, and are content to purchaſe a place of aſſembly, to bear the charge of a paſtor or teacher, and to pay for this liberty to the public; they go and propoſe their deſire to the Magiſtrates of the place where they reſide, who inform themſelves of their opinions, and manners of worſhip; and if they find nothing in either, deſtructive to civil ſociety, or prejudicial to the conſtitutions of their State, and content themſelves with the price that is offered for the purchaſe of this liberty, they eaſily allow it: but with the condition, that one or more Com-

Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, who ſhall have free admiſſion at all their meetings, ſhall be both the obſervers and witneſſes of all that is acted or preached among them, and whoſe teſtimony ſhall be received concerning any thing that paſſes there to the prejudice of the State: in which caſe, the laws and executions are as ſevere as againſt any civil crimes.

Thus the Jews have their allowed Synagogues in Amſterdam and Rotterdam: and, in the firſt, almoſt all ſects, that are known among Chriſtians, have their public meeting-places; and ſome whoſe names are almoſt worn out in all other parts, as the Browniſts, Familiſts, and others. The Arminians, though they make a great name among them, by being rather the diſtinction of a party in the State, than a ſect in the Church; yet are, in compariſon of others, but few in number, though conſiderable by the perſons, who are of the better quality, the more learned and intelligent men, and many of them in the government. The Anabaptiſts are juſt the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower ranks of people, mechanics and ſeamen, and abound chiefly in North Holland.

The Calviniſts make the body of the people, and are poſſeſſed of all the public churches in the dominions of the State, as well as of the only Miniſters or paſtors, who are maintained by the Public; but theſe have neither lands, nor tithes, nor any authorized contributions from the people, but certain ſalaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend: and though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publickly againſt the vices, and ſometimes the innocent entertainments, of perſons moſt conſiderable in the government, as well as of the vulgar; yet they are never heard to cenſure or controul the public actions or reſolutions of the State; they are, in general, throughout the country, paſſionate friends

to

to the houſe of Orange; and, during the intermiſſion of that authority, found ways of expreſſing their affections to the perſon and fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State as it was then conſtituted. They are fierce enemies of the Arminian party, whoſe principles were thought to lead them, in Barnevelt's time, towards a conjunction, or at leaſt compliance, with the Spaniſh religion and government, both which the houſe of Orange, in the whole courſe of the war, endeavoured to make irreconcileable with thoſe of the State.

It is hardly to be imagined, how all the violence and ſharpneſs, which accompanies the differences of religion in other countries, ſeems to be appeaſed or ſoftened here, by the general freedom which all men enjoy, either by allowance or connivance; nor, how faction and ambition are thereby diſabled to colour their intereſted and ſeditious deſigns with the pretences of religion, which has coſt the Chriſtian world ſo much blood for theſe laſt hundred and fifty years. No man can here complain of preſſure in his conſcience: of being forced to any public profeſſion of his private faith: of being reſtrained from his own manner of worſhip in his houſe, or obliged to any other abroad: and whoever aſks more in point of religion, without the undiſputed evidence of a particular miſſion from heaven, may be juſtly ſuſpected not to aſk for God's ſake, but for his own: ſince pretending to ſovereignty, inſtead of liberty, in opinion, is indeed pretending the ſame in authority too, which conſiſts chiefly in opinion: and what man, or party ſoever, can gain the common or firm belief, of being moſt immediately inſpired, inſtructed, or favoured of God, will eaſily obtain the prerogative of being moſt honoured and obeyed by men.

But

But in this commonwealth, no man having any reaſon to complain of oppreſſion in conſcience, and no man having hopes, by advancing his religion, to form a party, or break in upon the State, the differences in opinion make none in affections, and little in converſation, where it ſerves but for entertainment and variety. They argue without intereſt or anger; they differ without enmity or ſcorn; and they agree without confederacy. Men live together, like citizens of the world, aſſociated by the common ties of humanity, and by the bonds of peace, under the impartial protection of indifferent laws, with equal encouragement of all art and induſtry, and equal freedom of ſpeculation and inquiry; all men enjoying their imaginary excellencies and acquiſitions of knowledge with as much ſafety, as their more real poſſeſſions and improvements of fortune. The power of religion among them, where it is, lies in every man's heart. The appearance of it is but like a piece of humanity, by which every one falls moſt into the company or converſation of thoſe, whoſe cuſtoms and humours, whoſe talk and diſpoſitions, he likes beſt: and as, in other places, it is in every man's choice with whom he will eat or lodge, with whom go to market, or to court; ſo it ſeems to be here, with whom he will pray, or go to church, or aſſociate in the ſervice and worſhip of God: nor is any more notice taken, or more cenſure paſſed, of what every one chuſes in theſe caſes, than in the other.

I believe the force of commerce, alliances, and acquaintances, ſpreading ſo far as they do in ſmall circuits (ſuch as the Province of Holland) may contribute much to make converſation, and all the offices of common life, ſo eaſy, among ſo different opinions, of which ſo many ſeveral perſons are often in every man's eye; and no man checks or takes offence at faces, or cuſtoms, or ceremonies, he ſees every day,

as

as at those he hears of in places far distant, and perhaps by partial relations, and comes to see late in his life, and after he has long been possessed by passion or prejudice against them. However it is, religion may possibly do more good in other places, but it does less hurt here: and, where-ever the invisible effects of it are the greatest and most advantageous, I am sure the visible are so in this country, by the continual and undisturbed civil peace of their government for so long a course of years; and by so mighty an increase of their people, wherein will appear to consist chiefly the vast growth of their trade and riches, and consequently the strength and greatness of their State.

CHAP. VI.

Of their trade.

IT is evident to those, who have read the most, and travelled fartheſt, that no country can be found either in this present age, or upon record of any story, where so vast a trade has been managed, as in the narrow compass of the four maritime Provinces of this commonwealth: nay, it is generally esteemed, that they have more shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the rest of Europe. Yet they have no native commodities towards the building or rigging of the smallest vessel; their flax, hemp, pitch, wood, and iron, coming all from abroad, as wool does for cloathing their men, and corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own growth, that is considerable either for their own necessary use, or for traffick with their neighbours, besides butter, cheese, and earthen-wares. For havens, they have not any good upon their whole coast: the best at Helvoetsluys, which has no trade at all; and Flushing, which has little, in comparison of other towns in Holland: but Amsterdam, that triumphs in

in the ſpoils of Liſbon and Antwerp (which before engroſſed the greateſt trade of Europe and the Indies) ſeems to be the moſt incommodious haven they have, being ſeated upon ſo ſhallow waters, that ordinary ſhips cannot come up to it without the advantage of tides; nor great ones without unlading. The entrance of the Teſſel, and paſſage over the Zudder ſea, is more dangerous than a voyage from thence to Spain, lying all in blind and narrow channels; ſo that it eaſily appears, that it is not a haven that draws trade, but trade that fills a haven, and brings it in vogue. Nor has Holland grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of induſtry; by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growths; by being the general magazine of Europe, and furniſhing all parts with whatever the market wants or invites; and by their ſeamen being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world.

Since the ground of trade cannot be deduced from havens, or native commodities (as may well be concluded from the ſurvey of Holland, which has the leaſt and the worſt; and of Ireland, which has the moſt and the beſt, of both) it were not amiſs to conſider, from what other ſource it may be more naturally and certainly derived: for, if we talk of induſtry, we are ſtill as much to ſeek, what it is that makes people induſtrious in one country, and idle in another. I conceive the true original and ground of trade to be, great multitude of people crouded into ſmall compaſs of land, whereby all things neceſſary to life become dear, and all men, who have poſſeſſions, are induced to parſimony; but thoſe, who have none, are forced to induſtry and labour, or elſe to want. Bodies, that are vigorous, fall to labour; ſuch, as are not, ſupply that defect by ſome ſort of inventions or ingenuity. Theſe cuſtoms ariſe firſt from neceſſity, but increaſe by imitation, and grow in time to be habi-

tual

tual in a country; and where-ever they are so, if it lies upon the sea, they naturally break out into trade, both because whatever they want of their own, that is necessary to so many men's lives, must be supplied from abroad; and because, by the multitude of people, and smallness of country, land grows so dear, that the improvement of money that way is inconsiderable, and so turns to sea, where the greatness of the profit makes amends for the venture.

This cannot be better illustrated, than by its contrary, which appears no where more than in Ireland; where, by the largeness and plenty of the food, and scarcity of people, all things necessary to life are so cheap, that an industrious man, by two days labour, may gain enough to feed him the rest of the week; which I take to be a very plain ground of the laziness attributed to the people: for men naturally prefer ease before labour, and will not take pains, if they can live idle: though when, by necessity, they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a custom necessary to their health, and to their very entertainment: nor perhaps is the change harder, from constant ease to labour, than from constant labour to ease.

This account of the original of trade agrees with the experience of all ages, and with the constitutions of all places, where it has most flourished in the world, as Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Rhodes, Venice, Holland; and will be so obvious to every man, that knows and considers the situation, the extent, and the nature, of all those countries, that it will need no enlargement upon the comparisons.

By these examples, which are all of commonwealths, and by the decay and dissolution of trade in the six first, when they came to be conquered, or subjected to arbitrary dominions, it might be concluded, that there is something, in that form of government, proper

per and natural to trade, in a more peculiar manner. But the height it arrived to at Bruges and Antwerp, under their Princes, for four or five deſcents of the houſe of Burgundy, and two of Auſtria, ſhews, it may thrive under good Princes and legal monarchies, as well as under free States. Under arbitrary and tyrannical power it muſt of neceſſity decay and diſſolve, becauſe this empties a country of people, whereas the others fill it; this extinguiſhes induſtry, whilſt men are in doubt of enjoying themſelves what they get, or leaving it to their children; the others encourage it, by ſecuring men of both; one fills a country with ſoldiers, and the other with merchants; who were never known yet to live well together, becauſe they cannot truſt one another. And as trade cannot live without mutual truſt among private men; ſo it cannot grow or thrive, to any great degree, without a confidence both of public and private ſafety, and conſequently a truſt in the government, from an opinion of its ſtrength, wiſdom, and juſtice; which muſt be grounded either upon the perſonal virtues and qualities of a Prince, or elſe upon the conſtitutions and orders of a State.

It appears to every man's eye who hath travelled Holland, and obſerved the number and vicinity of their great and populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of almoſt every ſpot of ground in the country, and the great multitudes conſtantly employed in their ſhipping abroad, and their boats at home, that no other known country in the world, of the ſame extent, holds any proportion with this in numbers of people; and, if that be the great foundation of trade, the beſt account that can be given of theirs, will be by conſidering the cauſes and accidents, that have ſerved to force or invite ſo vaſt a confluence of people into their country. In the firſt

rank may be placed the civil wars, calamities, perſecutions, oppreſſions, or diſcontents, that have been ſo fatal to moſt of their neighbours, for ſome time before, as well as ſince, their State began.

The perſecutions for matters of religion, in Germany under Charles V, in France under Henry II, and in England under Queen Mary, forced great numbers of people out of all thoſe countries, to ſhelter themſelves in the ſeveral towns of the Seventeen Provinces, where the ancient liberties of the country, and privileges of the cities, had been inviolate under ſo long a ſucceſſion of Princes, and gave protection to theſe oppreſſed ſtrangers, who filled their cities both with people and trade, and raiſed Antwerp to ſuch a height and renown, as continued till the Duke of Alva's arrival in the Low-Countries. The fright of this man, and the orders he brought, and arms to execute them, began to ſcatter the flock of people that for ſome time had been neſted there; ſo as, in very few months, above 100,000 families removed out of the country. But when the ſeven Provinces united, and began to defend themſelves with ſucceſs, under the conduct of the Prince of Orange, and the countenance of England and France, and the perſecutions for religion began to grow ſharp in the Spaniſh provinces, all the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and haters of the Spaniſh dominion, retired into the ſtrong cities of this commonwealth, and gave the ſame date to the growth of trade there, and the decay of it at Antwerp.

The long civil wars, at firſt of France, then of Germany, and laſtly of England, ſerved to increaſe the ſwarm in this country, not only by ſuch as were perſecuted at home, but great numbers of peaceable men, who came here to ſeek for quiet in their lives, and ſafety in their poſſeſſions or trades; like thoſe birds

birds that, upon the approach of a rough winter-ſeaſon, leave the countries where they were born and bred, fly away to ſome kinder and ſofter climate, and never return till the froſts are paſt, and the winds are laid at home.

The invitation theſe people had, to fix rather in Holland than in many better countries, ſeems to have been, at firſt, the great ſtrength of their towns, which by their maritime ſituation, and the low flatneſs of their country, can with their ſluices overflow all the ground about them at ſuch diſtances, as to become inacceſſible to any land forces. And this natural ſtrength has been improved, eſpecially at Amſterdam, by all the art and expence that could any ways contribute towards the defence of the place.

Next was the conſtitution of their government, by which, neither the States-General, nor the Prince, have any power to invade any man's perſon or property within the precincts of their cities. Nor could it be feared that the ſenate of any town ſhould conſpire to any ſuch violence; nor, if they did, could they poſſibly execute it, having no ſoldiers in their pay, and the burghers only being employed in the defence of their towns, and execution of all civil juſtice among them.

Theſe circumſtances gave ſo great a credit to the bank of Amſterdam; and that was another invitation for people to come and lodge here what part of their money they could tranſport, and knew no way of ſecuring at home. Nor did thoſe people only lodge moneys here, who came over into the country; but many more, who never left their own, though they provided for a retreat, or againſt a ſtorm, and thought no place ſo ſecure as this, nor from whence they might ſo eaſily draw their money into any parts of the world.

Another circumſtance was, the general liberty and eaſe, not only in point of conſcience, but all others

that serve to the commodiousness and quiet of life; every man following his own way, minding his own business, and little enquiring into other men's; which, I suppose, happened by so great a concourse of people of several nations, different religions and customs, as left nothing strange or new; and by the general humour, bent all upon industry; whereas curiosity is only proper to idle men.

Besides, it has ever been the great principle of their State, running through all their provinces and cities, even with emulation, to make their country the common refuge of all miserable men; from whose protection, hardly any alliances, treaties, or interests, have ever been able to divert or remove them. So as, during the great dependance this State had upon France, in the time of Henry IV, all the persons disgraced at that court, or banished that country, made this their common retreat; nor could the State ever be prevailed with, by any instances of the French Ambassadors, to refuse them the use and liberty of common life and air, under the protection of their government.

This firmness in the State has been one of the circumstances that has invited so many unhappy men out of all their neighbourhood, and indeed from most parts of Europe, to shelter themselves from the blows of justice, or of fortune. Nor indeed does any country seem so proper to be made use of upon such occasions, not only in respect of safety, but as a place that holds so constant and easy correspondences with all parts of the world, and whither any man may draw whatever money he has at his disposal in any other place; where neither riches expose men to danger, nor poverty to contempt: but on the contrary, where parsimony is honourable, whether it be necessary or no; and he, that is forced by his fortune to live low, may here alone live in fashion, and upon equal terms

(in

(in appearance abroad) with the chiefeſt of their Miniſters, and richeſt of their merchants: nor is it eaſily imagined, how great an effect this conſtitution among them may, in courſe of time, have had upon the increaſe both of their people and their trade.

As the two firſt invitations of people into this country were the ſtrength of their towns, and nature of their government; ſo two others have grown with the courſe of time, and progreſs of their riches and power. One is the reputation of their government, ariſing from the obſervation of the ſucceſs of their arms, the prudence of their negotiations, the ſteadineſs of their counſels, the conſtancy of their peace and quiet at home, and the conſideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Chriſtendom. From all theſe, men grew to a general opinion of the wiſdom and conduct of their State; and of its being eſtabliſhed upon foundations that could not be ſhaken by any common accidents, nor conſequently in danger of any great or ſudden revolutions; and this is a mighty inducement to induſtrious people to come and inhabit a country, who ſeek not only ſafety under laws from injuſtice and oppreſſion, but likewiſe, under the ſtrength and good conduct of a State, from the violence of foreign invaſions or of civil commotions.

The other is, the great beauty of their country (forced in time, and by the improvements of induſtry, in ſpite of nature) which draws every day ſuch numbers of curious and idle perſons to ſee their Provinces, though not to inhabit them. And indeed their country is a much better miſtreſs than a wife, and where few perſons, who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none, that have time and money to ſpare, would not for once be willing to travel; and as England ſhews, in the beauty of the country, what nature can arrive at; ſo does Holland,

in the number, greatneſs, and beauty of their towns, whatever art can bring to paſs. But theſe and many other matters of ſpeculation among them, filling the obſervations of all common travellers, ſhall make no part of mine, whoſe deſign is rather to diſcover the cauſes of their trade and riches, than to relate the effects.

Yet it may be noted hereupon, as a piece of wiſdom in any kingdom or State, by the magnificence of courts, or of public ſtructures; by encouraging beauty in private buildings, and the adornment of towns with pleaſant and regular plantations of trees; by the celebration of ſome noble feſtivals or ſolemnities; by the inſtitution of ſome great marts or fairs; and by the contrivance of any extraordinary and renowned ſpectacles, to invite and occaſion, as much and as often as can be, the concourſe of buſy or idle people from the neighbouring or remoter nations, whoſe very paſſage and intercourſe is a great increaſe of wealth and of trade, and a ſecret incentive of people to inhabit a country, where men may meet with equal advantages, and more entertainments of life, than in other places. Such were the Olympic and other games among the Græcians; ſuch the triumphs, trophies, and ſecular plays of old Rome, as well as the ſpectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with ſuch ſtupenduous effects of art and expence, for courting or entertaining the people; ſuch the Jubilees of new Rome; the juſts and tournaments formerly uſed in moſt of the courts of Chriſtendom; the feſtivals of the more celebrated orders of knighthood; and, in particular towns, the carnavals and fairs; the kirmiſhes, which run through all the cities of the Netherlands, and in ſome of them, with a great deal of pageantry, as well as traffic, being equal baits of pleaſure and of gain.

Having

Having thus discovered what has laid the great foundations of their trade, by the multitude of their people, which has planted and habituated industry among them, and, by that, all sorts of manufacture, as well as parsimony, and thereby general wealth: I shall enumerate, very briefly, some other circumstances, that seem, next to these, the chief advancers and encouragers of trade in their country.

Low interest, and dearness of land, are effects of the multitude of people, and cause of so much money to lie ready for all projects by which gain may be expected, as the cutting of canals, making bridges and cawseys, levelling downs, and draining marshes, besides all new essays at foreign trade which are proposed with any probability of advantage.

The use of their banks, which secures money, and makes all payments easy, and trade quick.

The sale by registry, which was introduced here and in Flanders in the time of Charles V, and makes all purchases safe.

The severity of justice, not only against all thefts, but all cheats, and counterfeits of any public bills (which is capital among them) and even against all common beggars, who are disposed of either into work-houses, or hospitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The convoys of merchant-fleets into all parts, even in time of peace, but especially into the Straits; which give their trade security against many unexpected accidents, and their nation credit abroad, and breeds up seamen for their ships of war.

The lowness of their customs, and easiness of paying them, which, with the freedom of their ports, invite both strangers and natives to bring commodities hither, not only as to a market, but as to a magazine, where they lodge till they are invited abroad to other and better markets.

Order and exactneſs in managing their trade, which brings their commodities in credit abroad. This was firſt introduced by ſevere laws and penalties, but is ſince grown into cuſtom. Thus there have been above thirty ſeveral placarts about the manner of curing, pickling, and barrelling herrings. Thus all arms, made at Utrecht, are forfeited, if ſold without mark, or marked without trial. And I obſerved in their India-houſe, that all the pieces of ſcarlet, which are ſent in great quantities to thoſe parts, are marked with the Engliſh arms, and inſcriptions in Engliſh; by which they maintain the credit gained to that commodity by our former trade to parts where it is now loſt or decayed.

The government managed either by men that trade, or whoſe families have riſen by it, or who have themſelves ſome intereſt going in other men's traffic, or who are born and bred in towns the ſoul and being whereof conſiſts wholly in trade; which makes ſure of all favour, that, from time to time, grows neceſſary, and can be given it by the government.

The cuſtom of every town's affecting ſome particular commerce or ſtaple, valuing itſelf thereupon, and ſo improving it to the greateſt height: as Fluſhing, by that of the Weſt-Indies; Middleburgh, of French wines; Terveer, by the Scots ſtaple; Dort, by the Engliſh ſtaple, and Rheniſh wines; Rotterdam, by the Engliſh and Scotch trade at large, and by French wines; Leyden, by the manufacture of all ſorts of ſtuffs, ſilk, hair, gold and ſilver; Haerlem, by linen, mixt ſtuffs, and flowers; Delft, by beer and Dutch porcelane; Surdam, by the built of Ships; Enchuyſen and Mazland-ſluys, by herring-fiſhing; Friezland, by the Greenland trade; and Amſterdam by that of the Eaſt-Indies, Spain, and the Straits.

The great application of the whole Province to the fiſhing- trade upon the coaſts of England and Scot-

land, which employs an incredible number of ſhips and ſeamen, and ſupplies moſt of the ſouthern parts of Europe with a rich and neceſſary commodity.

The laſt I ſhall mention is, the mighty advance they have made towards engroſſing the whole commerce of the Eaſt-Indies, by their ſucceſſes againſt the Portugueſe, and by their many wars and victories againſt the natives, whereby they have forced them to treaties of commerce, excluſive to all other nations, and to the admiſſion of forts to be built upon ſtraits and paſſes that command the entrances into the traffic of ſuch places. This has been atchieved by the multitude of their people and mariners, that has been able to furniſh every year ſo many great ſhips for ſuch voyages, and to ſupply the loſs of ſo many lives, as the changes of climate have coſt, before they learnt the method of living in them; by the vaſtneſs of the ſtock that has been turned wholly to that trade; and by the conduct and application of the Eaſt-India company, who have managed it like a commonwealth, rather than a trade, and thereby raiſed a State in the Indies, governed indeed by the orders of the company, but otherwiſe appearing to thoſe nations like a ſovereign State, making war and peace with their greateſt Kings, and able to bring to ſea forty or fifty men of war, and thirty thouſand men at land, by the modeſteſt computations. The ſtock of this trade, beſides what it turns to in France, Spain, Italy, the Straits, and Germany, makes them ſo great maſters in the trade of the northern parts of Europe, as Muſcovy, Poland, Pomerania, and all the Baltic; where the ſpices, that are an Indian drug, and European luxury, command all the commodities of thoſe countries, which are ſo neceſſary to life, as their corn; and to navigation, as hemp, pitch, maſts, planks, and iron.

Thus

Thus the trade of this country is discovered to be no effect of common contrivances, of natural dispositions or situation, or of trivial accidents; but of a great concurrence of circumstances, a long course of time, force of orders and method, which never before met in the world to such a degree, or with so prodigious a success, and perhaps never will again. Having grown (to sum up all) from the situation of their country, extended upon the sea, divided by two such rivers as the Rhine and the Maes, with the vicinity of the Ems, Weser, and Elve; from the confluence of people out of Flanders, England, France, and Germany, invited by the strength of their towns, and by the constitutions and credit of their government; by the liberty of conscience, and security of life and goods (subjected only to constant laws); from general industry and parsimony, occasioned by the multitude of people, and smallness of country; from cheapness and easiness of carriage, by convenience of canals; from low use, and dearness of land, which turn money to trade; the institution of banks; sale by registry; care of convoys; smallness of customs; freedom of ports; order in trade; interest of persons in the government; particular traffic affected to particular places; application to the fishery; and acquisitions in the East-Indies.

It is no constant rule, That trade makes riches; for there may be a trade that impoverishes a nation: as it is not going often to market that enriches the countryman; but, on the contrary, if, every time he comes there, he buys to a greater value than he sells, he grows the poorer the oftener he goes: but the only and certain scale of riches, arising from trade in a nation, is the proportion of what is exported for the consumption of others, to what is imported for their own

The

The true ground of this proportion lies in the general induſtry and parſimony of a people, or in the contrary of both. Induſtry increaſes the native commodity, either in the product of the ſoil, or the manufactures of the country, which raiſes the ſtock for exportation. Parſimony leſſens the conſumption of their own, as well as of foreign commodities; and not only abates the importation by the laſt, but increaſes the exportation by the firſt; for, of all native commodities, the leſs is conſumed in a country, the more is exported abroad; there being no commodity, but, at one price or other, will find a market, which they will be maſters of, who can afford it cheapeſt: ſuch are always the moſt induſtrious and parſimonious people, who can thrive by prices upon which the lazy and expenſive cannot live.

The vulgar miſtake, that importation of foreign wares, if purchaſed abroad with native commodities, and not with money, does not make a nation poorer, is but what every man, that gives himſelf leiſure to think, muſt immediately rectify, by finding out, that, upon the end of an account between a nation, and all they deal with abroad, whatever the exportation wants in value, to balance that of the importation, muſt of neceſſity be made up with ready money.

By this we find out the foundation of the riches of Holland, as of their trade by the circumſtances already rehearſed. For never any country traded ſo much, and conſumed ſo little: they buy infinitely, but it is to ſell again, either upon improvement of the commodity, or at a better market. They are the great maſters of the Indian ſpices, and of the Perſian ſilks, but wear plain woollen, and feed upon their own fiſh and roots. Nay, they ſell the fineſt of their own cloth to France, and buy coarſe out of England for their own wear. They ſend abroad the beſt of their own butter into all parts, and buy the cheapeſt

eſt out of Ireland, or the north of England, for their own uſe. In ſhort, they furniſh infinite luxury which they never practiſe, and traffic in pleaſures which they never taſte.

The Gentlemen and officers of the army change their cloaths and their modes like their neighbours. But, among the whole body of the civil magiſtrates, the merchants, the rich traders, and citizens in general, the faſhions continue ſtill the ſame; and others as conſtant among the ſeamen and boors; ſo that men leave off their cloaths only becauſe they are worn out, and not becauſe they are out of faſhion.

Their great foreign conſumption is French wine and brandy; but that may be allowed them as the only reward they enjoy of all their pains, and as that alone which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary poverty, who would otherwiſe ſeem poor and wretched in their real wealth. Beſides, what they ſpend in wine, they ſave in corn to make other drinks, which is bought from foreign parts. And, upon a preſſure of their affairs, we ſee now, for two years together, they have denied themſelves even this comfort, among all their ſorrows, and made up in paſſive fortitude, whatever they have wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going conſtantly out, either in commodity, or in the labour of ſea-faring men, and little coming in to be conſumed at home; the reſt returns in coin, and fills the country to that degree, that more ſilver is ſeen in Holland, among the common hands and purſes, than braſs either in Spain or in France; though one be ſo rich in the beſt native commodities, and the other drain all the treaſures of the Weſt-Indies.

By all this account of their trade and riches, it will appear, that ſome of our maxims are not ſo certain, as they are current, in our common politics. As, firſt,

firſt, that example, and encouragement of exceſs and luxury, if employed in the conſumption of native commodities, is of advantage to trade: it may be ſo to that which impoveriſhes, but it is not to that which enriches a country; and is indeed leſs prejudicial, if it lie in native, than in foreign wares. But the cuſtom or humour of luxury and expence cannot ſtop at certain bounds; what begins in native, will proceed in foreign commodities; and, though the example ariſe among idle perſons, yet the imitation will run into all degrees, even of thoſe men by whoſe induſtry the nation ſubſiſts. And beſides, the more of our own we ſpend, the leſs we ſhall have to ſend abroad; and ſo it will come to paſs, that, while we drive a vaſt trade, yet, by buying much more than we ſell, we ſhall come to be poor: whereas, when we drove a very ſmall traffic abroad, yet, by ſelling ſo much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our neighbours. This appeared in Edward III's time, when we maintained ſo mighty wars in France, and carried our victorious arms into the heart of Spain: whereas, in the 28th year of that King's reign, the value and cuſtom of all our exported commodities amounted to 294184 l. 17 s. 2 d. and that of imported, but to 38970 l. 3 s. 6 d. So as there muſt have entered that year into the kingdom in coin, or bullion (or elſe have grown a debt to the nation) 255214 l. 13 s. 8 d. And yet we then carried out our wools unwrought, and brought in a great part of our cloaths from Flanders.

Another common maxim is, that if, by any foreign invaſion, or ſervitude, the State, and conſequently the trade, of Holland ſhould be ruined, the laſt would of courſe fall to our ſhare in England. Which is no conſequence; for it would certainly break into ſeveral pieces, and ſhift, either to us, to Flanders, to the Hans Towns, or any other parts, according as the

the moſt of thoſe circumſtances ſhould any where concur to invite it (and the likeſt to ſuch) as appear to have formerly drawn it into Holland, by ſo mighty a confluence of people, and ſo general a vein of induſtry and parſimony among them. And whoever pretends to equal their growth in trade and riches, by other ways than ſuch as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A third is, that if that State were reduced to great extremities, ſo as to become a Province to ſome greater power, they would chuſe our ſubjection rather than any other; or thoſe, at leaſt, that are the maritime, and the richeſt of the Provinces. But it will be more reaſonably concluded, from all the former diſcourſes, that, though they may be divided by abſolute conqueſts, they will never divide themſelves by conſent, but all fall one way, and, by common agreement, make the beſt terms they can for their country, as a Province, if not as a State: and, before they come to ſuch an extremity, they will firſt ſeek to be admitted, as a Belgic circle, in the Empire (which they were of old) and thereby receive the protection of that mighty body, which (as far as great and ſmaller things may be compared) ſeems the likeſt their own State in its main conſtitutions, but eſpecially in the freedom or ſovereignty of the imperial cities. And this I have often heard their Miniſters ſpeak of, as their laſt refuge, in caſe of being threatened by too ſtrong and fatal a conjuncture.

And, if this ſhould happen, the trade of the Provinces would rather be preſerved or increaſed, than any way broken or deſtroyed, by ſuch an alteration of their State, becauſe the liberties of the country would continue what they are, and the ſecurity would be greater than now it is.

The laſt I will mention is of another vein: That, if the Prince of Orange were made Sovereign of their country,

country, though by foreign arms, he would be a great Prince, becauſe this now appears to be ſo great a State. Whereas, on the contrary, thoſe Provinces would ſoon become a very mean country. For ſuch a power muſt be maintained by force, as it would be acquired, and as indeed all abſolute dominion muſt be in thoſe Provinces. This would raiſe general diſcontents; and thoſe perpetual ſeditions among the towns, which would change the orders of the country, endanger the property of private men, and ſhake the credit and ſafety of the government: whenever this ſhould happen, the people would ſcatter, induſtry would faint, banks would diſſolve, and trade would decay to ſuch a degree, as probably, in courſe of time, the very digues would be no longer maintained by the defences of a weak people, againſt ſo furious an invader; but the ſea would break in upon their land, and leave their chiefeſt cities to be fiſher towns as they were of old.

Without any ſuch great revolutions, I am of opinion, that trade has, for ſome years ago, paſt its meridian, and begun ſenſibly to decay among them; whereof there ſeem to be ſeveral cauſes; as, firſt, the general application, that ſo many other nations have made to it, within theſe two or three and twenty years. For ſince the peace of Munſter, which reſtored the quiet of Chriſtendom in 1648, not only Sweden and Denmark, but France and England, have more particularly, than ever before, buſied the thoughts and councils of their ſeveral governments, as well as the humours of their people, about the matters of trade.

Nor has this happened without good degrees of ſucceſs; though kingdoms of ſuch extent, that have other and nobler foundations of greatneſs, cannot raiſe trade to ſuch a pitch, as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a man, who has a fair and plentiful eſtate, can fall to labour and induſtry,

induſtry, like one that has nothing elſe to truſt to for the ſupport of his life. But, however, all theſe nations have come, of late, to ſhare largely with them; and there ſeem to be grown too many traders for trade in the world, ſo as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous village, the firſt grocer, or mercer, that ſets up among them, grows preſently rich, having all the cuſtom; until another, encouraged by his ſucceſs, comes to ſet up by him, and ſhare in his gains; at length ſo many fall to the trade, that nothing is got by it; and ſome muſt give over, or all muſt break.

Not many ages paſt, Venice and Florence poſſeſſed all the trade of Europe; the laſt by their manufactures; but the firſt by their ſhipping: and the whole trade of Perſia and the Indies, whoſe commodities were brought (thoſe by land, and theſe by the Arabian ſea) to Egypt, from whence they were fetched by the Venetian fleets, and diſperſed into moſt of the parts of Europe: and in thoſe times we find the whole trade of England was driven by Venetians, Florentines, and Lombards. The Eaſterlings, who were the inhabitants of the Hans Towns, as Dantzick, Lubeck, Hamburgh, and others upon that coaſt, fell next into trade, and managed all that of theſe northern parts for many years, and brought it firſt down to Bruges, and from thence to Antwerp. The firſt navigations of the Portugueſe to the Eaſt-Indies broke the greatneſs of the Venetian trade, and drew it to Liſbon: and the revolt of the Netherlands, that of Antwerp to Holland. But, in all this time, the other and greater nations of Europe concerned themſelves little in it; their trade was war; their counſels and enterpriſes were buſied in the quarrels of the Holy Land, or in thoſe between the Popes and Emperors (both of the ſame forge, engaging all chriſtian Princes, and ending in the greatneſs of the Eccleſiaſtical State throughout Chriſtendom:)

Chriſtendom:) ſometimes, in the mighty wars between England and France, between France and Spain: the more general between Chriſtians and Turks; or more particular quarrels, between leſſer and neighbouring Princes. In ſhort, the kingdoms and principalities were in the world, like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a country; the free ſtates and cities, like the merchants and traders: theſe at firſt deſpiſed by the others; the others ſerved and revered by them; until, by the various courſe of events in the world, ſome of theſe came to grow rich and powerful by induſtry and parſimony; and ſome of the others, poor by war and by luxury: which made the traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a fancy of falling to trade. By this ſhort account it will appear no wonder, either that particular places grew ſo rich and ſo mighty, while they alone enjoyed almoſt the general trade of the world; nor why not only the trade in Holland, but the advantage of it in general, ſhould ſeem to be leſſened by ſo many that ſhare it.

Another cauſe of its decay in that State may be, that, by the mighty progreſs of their Eaſt-India company, the commodities of that country are grown more than theſe parts of the world can take off; and, conſequently, the rates of them muſt needs be leſſened, while the charge is increaſed by the great wars, the armies, and forts, neceſſary to maintain, or extend, the acquiſitions of that company in the Indies. For, inſtead of five or ſix Eaſt-India ſhips, which uſed to make the fleet of the year, they are now riſen to eighteen or twenty (I think two and twenty came in one year to the United Provinces.) This is the reaſon why the particular perſons of that company in Holland make not ſo great advantage of the ſame ſtock, as thoſe of ours do in England; though their company be very much richer, and drives a far greater

trade than ours, which is exhauſted by no charge of armies, or forts, or ſhips of war: and this is the reaſon, that the Dutch are forced to keep ſo long and ſo much of thoſe commodities in their magazines here, and to bring them out, only as the markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring ſo much leſs from the Indies than they were able to do, if there were vent enough here: I remember, one of their ſeamen, newly landed out of their Eaſt-India fleet, in the year 69, upon diſcourſe in a boat between Delf and Leyden, ſaid, he had ſeen, before he came away, three heaps of nutmegs burnt at a time, each of which was more than a ſmall church could hold, which he pointed at in a village that was in ſight.

Another cauſe may be the great cheapneſs of corn, which has been for theſe dozen years, or more, general in all theſe parts of Europe, and which has a very great influence upon the trade of Holland. For a great vent of Indian commodities (at leaſt the ſpices, which are the groſs of them) uſed to be made into the northern parts of Europe, in exchange for corn, while it was taken off at good rates by the markets of Flanders, England, France, Spain, or Italy; in all which countries it has of late years gone ſo low, as to diſcourage the import of ſo great quantities, as uſed to come from Poland and Pruſſia, and other parts of the north. Now the leſs value thoſe nations receive for corn, the leſs they are able to give for ſpice; which is a great loſs to the Dutch on both ſides, leſſening the vent of their Indian ware in the Northern, and the traffic of corn in the Southern parts. The cauſe of this great cheapneſs of corn ſeems to be, not ſo much a courſe of plentiful and ſeaſonable years, as the general peace that has been in Europe ſince the year 59, or 60; by which ſo many men and ſo much land have been turned to huſbandry, that were before employed in the wars, or lay waſted by them in all the

the frontier provinces of France and Spain, as well as throughout Germany, before the peace of Munſter; and in England during the actions or conſequences of a civil war: and plenty grows not to a height, but by the ſucceſſion of ſeveral peaceful as well as ſeaſonable years.

The laſt cauſe I will mention is the mighty enlargement of the city of Amſterdam, by that which is called the New Town; the extent whereof is ſo ſpacious, and the buildings of ſo much greater beauty and coſt than the old, that it muſt have employed a vaſt proportion of that ſtock which in this city was before wholly turned to trade. Beſides there ſeems to have been growing on, for theſe later years, a great vie of luxury and expence among many of the merchants of that town, than was ever formerly known: which was obſerved and complained of, as well as the enlargement of their city, by ſome of the wiſeſt of their Miniſters, while I reſided among them, who deſigned ſome regulations by ſumptuary laws; as knowing the very foundations of their trade would ſoon be undermined, if the habitual induſtry, parſimony, and ſimplicity of their people came to be over-run by luxury, idleneſs, and exceſs. However it happened, I found it agreed by all the moſt diligent and circumſpect enquiries I could make, that, in the years 69 and 70, there was hardly any foreign trade among them, beſides that of the Indies, by which the traders made the returns of their money without loſs; and none, by which the common gain was above two or three in the hundred. So, as it ſeems to be with trade, as with the ſea (its element) that has a certain pitch above which it never riſes in the higheſt tides, and begins to ebb, as ſoon as ever it ceaſes to flow; and ever loſes ground in one place, proportionable to what it gains in another.

CHAP. VII.

Of their forces and revenues.

THE ſtrength and forces of a kingdom, or ſtate, were meaſured, in former ages, by the numbers of native and warlike ſubjects which they could draw into the field, upon any war with their neighbours. National quarrels were decided by national armies, not by ſtipendiary forces (raiſed with money, or maintained by conſtant pay.) In the ſeveral kingdoms and principalities of Europe, the bodies of their armies were compoſed, as they are ſtill in Poland, of the Nobility and Gentry, who were bound to attend their Princes to the wars, with certain numbers of armed men, according to the tenure and extent of the ſeveral lordſhips and lands they held of the crown: where theſe were not proportionable to the occaſion, the reſt were made up of ſubjects drawn together by love of their Prince or their country, by deſire of conqueſts and ſpoils, or neceſſity of defence; held together by allegiance or religion; and ſpirited by honour, revenge, or avarice (not of what they could get from their leaders, but from their enemies.) A battle or two, fairly fought, decided a war; and a war ended the quarrel of an age, and either loſt or gained the cauſe or country contended for: till the change of times and accidents brought it to a new deciſion; till the virtues and vices of Princes made them ſtronger or weaker, either in the love and obedience of their people, or in ſuch orders and cuſtoms as rendered their ſubjects more or leſs warlike or effeminate. Standing forces, or guards in conſtant pay, were no where uſed by lawful Princes in their native or hereditary counties, but only by conquerors in ſubdued provinces, or uſurpers at home; and were a defence only againſt ſubjects, not againſt enemies.

Theſe

Theſe orders ſeem firſt to have been changed in Europe by the two States of Venice and Holland: both of them ſmall in territories at land, and thoſe extended in frontier upon powerful neighbours; both of them weak in number of native ſubjects, and thoſe leſs warlike at land, by turning ſo much to traffic, and to ſea: but both of them mighty in riches and trade; which made them endeavour to balance their neighbours ſtrength in native ſubjects by foreign ſtipendiary bands; and to defend their frontiers by the arts of fortification, and ſtrength of places, which might draw out a war into length by ſieges, when they durſt not venture it upon a battle; and ſo make it many times determine by force of money, rather than of arms. This forced thoſe Princes, who frontiered upon the States, to theſe ſame proviſions; which have been increaſed by the perpetual courſe of wars, upon the continent of Europe, ever ſince the riſe of this State, until the peace of the Pyrenees, between Princes bordering one upon the other; and ſo, ready for ſudden inroads or invaſions.

The force therefore of theſe Provinces is to be meaſured, not by the number or diſpoſitions of their ſubjects, but by the ſtrength of their ſhipping, and ſtanding-troops, which they conſtantly maintain, even in time of peace; and by the numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the field, and to ſea, for ſupport of a war; by their conſtant revenue to maintain the firſt; and by the temporary charge they have been able to furniſh for ſupply of the other.

I will not enumerate their frontier towns (which is a common theme) or the forces neceſſary for the garriſons of them; nor the nature and variety of their taxes and impoſitions, though I have an exact liſt of them by me, expreſſing the ſeveral kinds, rates, and proportions, upon every Province and town: but this would ſwell a diſcourſe with a great deal of tedious

matter, and to little purpose. I shall therefore be content only to observe, what I have informed myself of their forces and revenues in general, from persons among them the best able to give that account.

The ordinary revenue of this State consists, either in what is levied in the conquered towns, and country of Brabant, Flanders, or the Rhine; which is wholly administered by the Council of State: or else the ordinary funds which the Seven Provinces provide every year, according to their several proportions, upon the petition of the council of State, and computation of the charge of the ensuing year, given in by them to the States-General. And this revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty millions of guilders a-year; every million making about ninety thousand pounds Sterling, intrinsic value.

The chief funds, out of which this rises, are, the excise and the customs: the first is great, and so general, that I have heard it observed at Amsterdam, that, when, in a tavern, a certain dish of fish is eaten with the usual sauce, above thirty several excises are paid for what is necessary to that small service. The last are low and easy, and applied particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this revenue is supplied the charge of the whole milice, of all public officers of the State, and Ambassadors, or Ministers abroad, and the interest of about thirteen millions owing by the States-General.

The standing-forces in the year 1670, upon so general a peace, and after all reformations, were twenty-six thousand two hundred men, in ten regiments of horse consisting of fifty troops; and nineteen of foot, consisting of three hundred and eighty companies. The constant charge of these forces stood them in six millions one hundred and nineteen thousand guilders a-year.

The

The Admiralties, in time of peace, maintain between thirty and forty men of war, employed in the ſeveral convoys of their merchants fleets, in a ſquadron of eight or ten ſhips, to attend the Algerines and other Corſairs in the Mediterranean; and ſome always lying ready in their havens for any ſudden accidents or occaſions of the State. The common expence of the Admiralties in this equipage, and the built of ſhips, is about ſix millions a-year.

Beſides the debt of the Generality, the Province of Holland owes about ſixty-five millions, for which they pay intereſt at four in the hundred; but with ſo great eaſe and exactneſs, both in principal and intereſt, that no man ever demands it twice; they might take up whatever money they deſired. Whoever is admitted to bring in his money, takes it for a great deal of favour; and, when they pay off any part of the principal, thoſe it belongs to receive it with tears, not knowing how to diſpoſe of it to intereſt with ſuch ſafety and eaſe. And the common revenue of particular men lies much in the cantores, either of the Generality, or the ſeveral Provinces, which are the regiſtries of theſe public debts.

Of the ſeveral impoſts and exciſes, thoſe that are upon certain and immoveable poſſeſſions (as houſes and lands) are collected by the Magiſtrates of the ſeveral places, and by them paid in to the receivers, becauſe both the number and value of them are conſtant and eaſily known. Thoſe, which ariſe out of uncertain conſumptions, are all ſet out to farm, and to him that bids moſt, ſome every three months, ſome every ſix, and ſome yearly.

The collection, receipt, and diſtribution of all public monies are made without any fee to officers, who receive certain conſtant ſalaries from the State, which they dare not increaſe by any private practices, or ex-

tortions: ſo, whoever has a bill of any public debt, has ſo much ready money in his coffers, being paid certainly at call, without charge or trouble; and aſſigned over in any payment, like the beſt bill of exchange.

The extraordinary revenue is, when upon ſome great occaſions, or wars, the Generality agrees to any extraordinary contributions: as ſometimes the hundredth penny of the eſtates of all the inhabitants; poll, or chimney-money; or any other ſubſidies, and payments, according as they can agree, and the occaſions require; which have ſometimes reached ſo far, as even to an impoſition upon every man that travels in the common ways of their country, by boat, or in a coach; in waggon, or on horſeback.

By all theſe means, in the firſt year of the Engliſh war, in 1665, there were raiſed in the Provinces forty millions, of which twenty-two in the Province of Holland. And, upon the Biſhop of Munſter's invading them at the ſame time by land, they had, in the year 66, above threeſcore thouſand land-men in pay; and a fleet of above an hundred men of war at ſea.

The greatneſs of this nation, at that time, ſeems juſtly to have raiſed the glory of ours; which, during the years 65 and 66, maintained a war, not only againſt this powerful State, but againſt the crowns of France and Denmark in conjunction with them: and all, at a time, when this kingdom was forced to ſtruggle at home with the calamitous effects of a raging plague, that, in three months of the firſt year, ſwept away incredible numbers of people; and of a prodigious fire, that, in three days of the ſecond, laid in aſhes that antient and famous city of LONDON (the heart and center of our commerce and riches) conſuming the greateſt part of its buildings, and an immenſe proportion of its wealth. Yet, in the midſt of theſe fatal accidents, thoſe two ſummers were

were renowned with three battles of the mightieſt fleets that ever met upon the ocean; whereof two were determined by entire and unqueſtioned victories, and purſuit of our enemies into their very havens. The third having begun, by the unfortunate diviſion of our fleet, with the odds of ninety of their ſhips againſt fifty of ours; and, in ſpite of ſuch diſadvantages, having continued, or been renewed, for three days together (wherein we were every morning the aggreſſors) ended at laſt by the equal and mutual weakneſs and wearineſs of both ſides, the maims of ſhips and tackling, with want of powder and ammunition: having left undecided the greateſt action that will perhaps appear upon record of any ſtory. And in this battle, Monſieur de Witt confeſſed to me, That we gained more honour to our nation, and to the invincible courage of our ſeamen, than by the other two victories: that he was ſure their men could never have been brought on the two following days, after the diſadvantages of the firſt; and he believed no other nation was capable of it but ours.

I will not judge how we came to fail of a glorious peace in the ſix months next ſucceeding, after the fortune of our laſt victory, and with the honour of the war: but as any rough hand can break a bone, whereas much art and care are required to ſet it again, and reſtore it to its firſt ſtrength and proportion; ſo it is an eaſy part in a Miniſter of State to engage a war, but it is given to few to know the times, and find the ways of making peace. Yet when, after the ſenſible events of an unfortunate negligence, an indifferent treaty was concluded at Breda, in 1667, within ſix months following, by an alliance with this State in January 1668, (which was received with incredible joy and applauſe among them) his Majeſty became the unqueſtioned arbiter of all the affairs of Chriſtendom; made a peace between the two great

great crowns, at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was avowed by all the world to be perfectly his own, and was received with equal applause of Christian Princes abroad, and of his subjects at home; and for three years succeeding, by the unshaken alliance and dependence of the United States, his Majesty remained absolute master of the peace of Christendom, and in a posture of giving bounds to the greatest, as well as protection to the weakest, of his neighbours.

CHAP. VIII.

The causes of their fall in 1672.

IT must be avowed, that as this State, in the course and progress of its greatness for so many years past, has shined like a comet; so, in the revolutions of this last summer, it seemed to fall like a meteor, and has equally amazed the world by the one and the other. When we consider such a power and wealth, as was related in the last chapter, to have fallen in a manner prostrate within the space of one month; so many frontier towns, renowned in the sieges and actions of the Spanish wars, entered like open villages by the French troops, without defence, or almost denial; most of them without any blows at all, and all of them with so few; their great rivers, that were esteemed an invincible security to the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, passed with as much ease, and as small resistances, as little fords; and, in short, the veay hearts of a nation, so valiant of old against Rome, so obstinate against Spain, now subdued, and, in a manner, abandoning all before their danger appeared: we may justly have our recourse to the secret and fixed periods of all human greatness, for the account of such a revolution; or rather to the unsearchable decrees and irresistible force of divine providence; though it seems not more impious to question it, than

to

to meaſure it by our ſcale; or reduce the iſſues and motions of that eternal will and power to a conformity with what is eſteemed juſt, wiſe, or good, by the uſual conſent, or the narrow comprehenſion of poor mortal men.

But as, in the ſearch and conſideration even of things natural and common, our talent, I fear, is to talk rather than to know; ſo we may be allowed to enquire and reaſon upon all things, while we do not pretend to certainty, or call that undeniable truth, which is every day denied by ten thouſand; nor thoſe opinions unreaſonable, which we know to be held by ſuch as we allow to be reaſonable men. I ſhall therefore ſet down ſuch circumſtances, as to me ſeem moſt evidently to have conſpired in this revolution; leaving the cauſes leſs diſcernible to the ſearch of more diſcerning perſons.

And, firſt, I take their vaſt trade, which was an occaſion of their greatneſs, to have been one likewiſe of their fall, by having wholly diverted the genius of their native ſubjects, and inhabitants, from arms, to traffic and the arts of peace; leaving the whole fortune of their later wars to be managed by foreign and mercenary troops; which much abaſed the courage of their nation (as was obſervèd in another chapter) and made the burghers of ſo little moment towards the defence of their towns; whereas in the famous ſieges of Haerlem, Alcmer, and Leyden, they had made ſuch brave and fierce defences, as broke the heart of the Spaniſh armies, and the fortune of their affairs.

Next was the peace of Munſter, which had left them now, for above twenty years, too ſecure of all invaſions, or enemies at land; and ſo turned their whole application to the ſtrength of their forces at ſea; which have been ſince exerciſed with two Engliſh wars in that time, and enlivened with the ſmall yearly expedi-

expeditions into the Straits againſt the Algerines, and other Corſairs of the Mediterranean.

Another was, their too great parſimony, in reforming ſo many of their beſt foreign officers and troops, upon the peace of Munſter; whoſe valour and conduct had been ſo great occaſions of inducing Spain to the counſels and concluſions of that treaty.

But the greateſt of all others, that concurred to weaken, and indeed break, the ſtrength of their land milice, was the alteration of their State, which happened by the Perpetual Edict of Holland and Weſt-Friezland, upon the death of the laſt Prince of Orange, for excluſion of the power of Stadtholder in their Province, or at leaſt the ſeparation of it from the charge of Captain-General. Since that time, the main deſign and application of thoſe Provinces has been, to work out, by degrees, all the old officers, both native and foreign, who had been formerly ſworn to the Prince of Orange, and were ſtill thought affectionate to the intereſt of that family; and to fill the commands of their army with the ſons or kinſmen of their Burgomaſters, or other officers or deputies in the State, whom they eſteemed ſure to the conſtitutions of their popular government, and good enough for an age where they ſaw no appearance of enemy at land to attack them.

But the humour of kindneſs to the young Prince, both in the people and army, was not to be diſſolved, or diſperſed, by any medicines, or operations, either of rigour or artifice; but grew up inſenſibly with the age of the Prince, ever preſaging ſome revolution in the State when he ſhould come to the years of aſpiring, and managing the general affections of the people; being a Prince who joined to the great qualities of his Royal blood the popular virtues of his country; ſilent and thoughtful; given to hear, and to enquire; of a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; much

much firmness in what he once resolves, or once denies; great industry and application to his business, little to his pleasures; piety in the religion of his country, but with charity to others; temperance unusual to his youth, and to the climate; frugal in the common management of his fortune, and yet magnificent upon occasion; of great spirit and heart, aspiring to the glory of military actions, with strong ambition to grow great, but rather by the service, than by the servitude, of his country; in short, a Prince of many virtues, without any appearing mixture of vice.

In the English war, begun the year 1665, the States disbanded all the English troops that were then left in their service, dispersing the officers and soldiers of our nation, who staid with them, into other companies, or regiments of their own. After the French invasion of Flanders, and the strict alliance between England and Holland in 1668, they did the same by all the French that were remaining in their service: so as the several bodies of these two nations, which had ever the greatest part in the honour and fortune of their wars, were now wholly dissolved, and their standing milice composed, in a manner, all of their own natives, enervated by the long uses and arts of traffic, and of peace.

But they were too great a match for any of the smaller Princes their neighbours in Germany; and too secure of any danger from Spain, by the knowledge of their forces, as well as dispositions; and being strictly allied both with England and Sweden, in two several defensive leagues, and in one common triple alliance, they could not foresee any danger from France, who, they thought, would never have the courage, or force, to enter the lists with so mighty confederates; and who were sure of a conjunction, when-

whenever they pleaſed, both with the Emperor and Spain.

Beſides, they knew that France could not attack them, without paſſing through Flanders or Germany: they were ſure Spain would not ſuffer it through the firſt, if they were backed in oppoſing it, as foreſeeing the inevitable loſs of Flanders, upon that of Holland: and they could hardly believe, the paſſage ſhould be yielded by a German Prince, contrary to the expreſs will and intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common intereſts of the empire: ſo that they hoped the war would, at leaſt, open in their neighbours provinces, for whoſe defence they reſolved to employ the whole force of their State; and would have made a mighty reſiſtance, if the quarrel had begun at any other doors, but their own.

They could not imagine a conjunction between England and France, for the ruin of their State; for, being unacquainted with our conſtitutions, they did not foreſee, how we ſhould find our intereſt in it, and meaſured all States by that which they eſteemed to be their intereſt. Nor could they believe, that other Princes and States of Europe would ſuffer ſuch an addition to be made to the power of France, as a conqueſt of Holland.

Beſides theſe public conſiderations, there were others particular to the factions among them: and ſome of their Miniſters were neither forward nor ſupple enough to endeavour the early breaking, or diverting, ſuch conjunctures as threatened them; becauſe they were not without hopes, they might end in renewing their broken meaſures with France; which thoſe of the commonwealth party were more inclined to, by foreſeeing the influence that their alliances with England muſt needs have in time, towards the reſtoring of the Prince of Orange's authority: and they thought at the worſt, that, whenever a pinch

a pinch came, they could not fail of a ſafe bargain, in one market or other, having ſo vaſt a treaſure ready to employ upon any good occaſion.

Theſe conſiderations made them commit three fatal overſights in their foreign negotiations: for they made an alliance with England, without engaging a confidence and friendſhip: they broke their meaſures with France, without cloſing new ones with Spain: and they reckoned upon the aſſiſtances of Sweden, and their neigbour Princes of Germany, without making them ſure by ſubſidiary advances, before a war began.

Laſtly, the Prince of Orange was approaching the two and twentieth year of his age, which the States of Holland had, ſince their alliance with his Majeſty in 1668, ever pretended ſhould be the time of advancing him to the charge of Captain-General and Admiral of their forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this period, which was like to make a new figure in their government, the more deſirous ſome of their Miniſters ſeemed, either to decline, or to reſtrain it. On the other ſide, the Prince grew confident upon the former promiſes, or, at leaſt, intimations of Holland, and the concurring diſpoſitions of the other ſix Provinces to his advancement: and his party, ſpirited by their hopes, and the great qualities of this young Prince (now grown ripe for action, and for enterpriſe) reſolved to bring this point to a ſudden deciſion; againſt which, the other party prepared, and united all their defences; ſo as this ſtrong diſeaſe, that had been ſo long working in the very bowels of the State, ſeemed juſt upon its criſis; when a conjunction of two mighty Kings brought upon them a ſudden and furious invaſion by land and ſea, at the ſame time, by a royal fleet of above fourſcore ſhips, and an army of as many thouſand men.

When

When the States ſaw this cloud ready to break upon them (after a long belief, that it would blow over) they began, not only to provide ſhelter at home with their uſual vigour, but to look out for it abroad (tho' both too late.) Of the Princes that were their allies, or concerned in their danger, ſuch as were far off could not be in time; the nearer were unwilling to ſhare in a danger they were not enough prepared for; moſt were content to ſee the pride of this State humbled; ſome the injuries they had received from them revenged; many would have them mortified, that would not have them deſtroyed; and ſo all reſolved to leave them to weather the ſtorm, as they could, for one campaign; which, they did not believe, could go far towards their ruin, conſidering the greatneſs of their riches, number of their forces, and ſtrength of their places.

The State, in the mean time, had increaſed their troops to ſeventy thouſand men, and had begun to repair the fortifications of their frontier towns: but ſo great a length of their country lay open to the French invaſion, by the territories of Cologn and Liege, and to the Biſhop of Munſter (their inveterate enemy) by Weſtphalia, that they knew not where to expect or provide againſt the firſt danger: and, while they divided their forces and endeavours towards the ſecuring of ſo many garriſons, they provided for none to any purpoſe but Maeſtricht; which the French left behind them, and fell in upon the towns of the Rhine, and the heart of their Provinces.

Beſides, thoſe Miniſters, who had ſtill the direction of affairs, bent their chief application to the ſtrength and order of their fleet, rather than of their army; whether more picqued at England than France, upon the war and manner of entering into it; or believing that a victory at ſea would be the way to a peace with this crown: or, hoping their towns would not fall ſo faſt,

fast, but that, before three or four were lost, the business at sea would be decided: or, perhaps, content that some ill successes should attend the Prince of Orange at his first entrance upon the command of their armies, and thereby contribute to their designs of restraining the authority, while they were forced to leave him the name, of Captain-General. This, indeed, was not likely to fail, considering the ill constitution of their old army, the hasty levies of their new, and the height of the factions now broken out in the State; which left both the towns and the troops in suspence, under whose banners they fought, and by whose orders they were to be governed, the Prince's or the State's.

There happened, at the same time, an accident unusual to their climate, which was a mighty drought in the beginning of the summer, that left their waters fordable in places where they used to be navigable for boats of greatest burden. And this gave them more trouble and distraction in the defence, as their enemies more facility in the passage, of those great rivers, which were esteemed no small security of their country.

And in this posture were the affairs of this commonwealth, when the war broke out, with those fatal events that must needs attend any kingdom, or state, where the violence of a foreign invasion happens to meet with the distracted estate of a domestic sedition or discontent, which, like ill humours in a body, make any small wound dangerous, and a great one mortal. They were still a great body, but without their usual soul; they were a State, but it was of the disunited Provinces. Their towns were without order; their burghers without obedience; their soldiers without discipline; and all without heart: whereas, in all sieges, the hearts of men defend the walls, and not walls the men: and, indeed, it was the name of Eng-

land joining in the war againſt them, that broke their hearts, and contributed more to the loſs of ſo many towns, and ſo much country, than the armies of Munſter, or France. So that, upon all circumſtances conſidered, it ſeems eaſier to give an account, what it was that loſt them ſo much, than what ſaved them the reſt.

No man at play ſees a very great game, either in his own or in another's hand, unexpectedly loſt, but he is apt to conſider, whether it could have been ſaved, and how it ought to have been played. The ſame enquiry will be natural upon the fall of this State, and very difficult to reſolve.

After the mighty growth of the French, and decay of the Spaniſh power, which drew on the invaſion of Flanders in 1667, this State had a very hard game to play; either they muſt ſee Flanders wholly loſt, and France grown to confine upon them (whom they liked as an ally, but dreaded as a neighbour;) or elſe they muſt join with France to divide Flanders between them; but they knew what it was to ſhare with the lion: or they muſt join with Spain to defend Flanders againſt France, that is, with their old enemy, againſt their old friend: or, laſtly, they muſt join with England for the defence of Flanders; neither breaking with France, nor cloſing with Spain; and frame an arbitrage, but ſomething of a rough nature; rather preſcribing than mediating a peace, and threatening a war upon that crown that refuſed it.

They choſe the laſt, and wiſely, as all men thought: but, though this alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated, and ſo the fruit came to fall, and the root to wither upon the firſt change of ſeaſons, in ſuch a manner, and to ſuch a degree, as we have lately ſeen. Whether they could have prevented a conjunction of England with France, ſhall be no part of my ſubject; for I pretend not to know, or to tell,

tell, secrets of State; and intend these, not for the observations of an ambassador, but of a private man as I am, and such as any gentleman might easily have made, who had resided above two years, as I did, in Holland; and had been, as I was, a little inclined to observe. I shall only say, that the conjunction of England with France was to this State, like one of those diseases which, the physicians say, are hard to discern, while they are easy to cure; but, when once they come to be plainly discovered, they are past remedy.

But, as Holland had ever defended itself against Spain, by England and France; so it ought to have done against France, by England and Spain, and provided early against their own danger, as well as that of Flanders, by improving and advancing their confederate league with England and Sweden, into a strict defensive alliance with Spain, as a principal in the league; and by agreeing with that crown to furnish between them some constant subsidiary payments to Sweden, for the support of their standing forces, even in time of peace. This was the desire of Spain, the interest of all that meant to secure the peace of Christendom; and the opinion of some of the Dutch Ministers, though not of the chiefest, until it was too late: and the omission of this was the greatest fault ever committed in their politics; and proceeded in a great measure from their ancient animosity to Spain; which, as it was the beginning, so, by this effect, it almost proved the end, of their State.

When the war began in the midst of the conjunctures related, it is hard to say what could have defended them: but as men in a town, threatened with a mighty siege, abandon their suburbs, and slight those out-works which are either weak of themselves or not well defensible for want of men; and resolve only to make good those posts which they are able fully to

man, and eaſily to relieve; becauſe the loſs of every ſmall out-work does not only weaken the number, but ſink the courage of the garriſon within: ſo this State, which came to be in a manner beſieged by the mighty and numerous armies of France and of Munſter, ought, in my opinion, to have left themſelves but three out-works to maintain (I mean three poſts ſtanding without the lines that incloſed the main body of their provinces) theſe ſhould have been Maeſtricht, Weſel, and Coeverden. They ſhould have ſlighted all the reſt of their places, that lay without theſe upon the Rhine, or in Overyſſel; and drawn the men into theſe towns, ſo as to have left them rather like camps than garriſons; that is, eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe in Maeſtricht, as many in Weſel, and half the number in Coeverden, if the place would contain them; if not, they might have formed and fortified a camp, with ſomething a greater number, upon the next paſs into Friezland and Groninguen.

Of the reſt of their horſe (which were, I ſuppoſe, about five thouſand) with at leaſt fifteen thouſand foot, they ſhould have formed a great ſtanding camp within their rivers, ſomewhere near Arnhem; fortified it with cannon, and all the art that could be; furniſhed it with the greateſt care, and plenty of proviſions. The remainder of their infantry would have been enough for the reſt of their garriſons; of which the towns upon the Yſſel, Doeſburgh, Zutphen, Daventer, and Swoll, would have been in a manner flanked (though at ſome diſtance) by the ſtrong garriſons of Weſel and Coeverden, and breaſted by the main camp.

If, with this diſpoſition of their forces, they had provided well for the ſtrength and defence of Shinkſconce, Nimeguen, and Grave (which would likewiſe have lain within all the cover of theſe out-poſts) they might, for aught I know, have expected the war,

war, without loſing the heart and ſteadineſs of their counſels, and not without probability of making a defence worthy the former greatneſs and atchievements of their State.

For a ſiege of Maeſtricht or Weſel (ſo garriſoned and reſolutely defended) might not only have amuſed, but endangered, the French armies; as Coeverden might have done that of Munſter.

The reſiſtance of one of theſe towns would have increaſed the ſtrength of all the reſt: for the fortune of battles and ſieges turns upon the hearts of men, as they are more or leſs capable of general confidences or fears, which are very much raiſed by accidents and opinions. It would not have been within any common rules to march ſo far into the country, as to attack the Barſe or Breda, Nimeguen or Grave, leaving ſuch camps behind as thoſe at Weſel and Maeſtricht, and having ſo much a greater before them as that about Arnhem. If any of theſe three poſts had been loſt, yet it could not have happened without good conditions, and ſo retiring the men to ſtrengthen either the more inward garriſons, or the main camp, which would have lain ready to defend the paſſes of their rivers. And if, at the worſt, they had failed in this, yet the French army muſt, afterwards, either have attacked a fortified camp of twenty thouſand men, or left ſuch an army behind them when they marched to Utrecht, and into the heart of the provinces; both of which would have been attempts, that, I think, have hardly been enterpriſed with ſucceſs upon any invaſion.

There ſeems at leaſt ſome appearance of order and conduct in this ſcheme of defence; whereas there was none in theirs: but perhaps the greatneſs of the tempeſt from abroad, and of the factions at home, either broke the heart, or diſtracted the courſe of their counſels. And, beſides, ſuch old ſeamen, in ſo ſtrong a

ſhip, that had weathered ſo many ſtorms without loſs, could not but think it hard to throw over board ſo much of their lading before this began. After all, I know very well, that nothing is ſo hard as to give wiſe counſel before events; and nothing ſo eaſy, as, after them, to make wiſe reflections. Many things ſeem true in reaſon, and prove falſe in experience: many, that are weakly conſulted, are executed with ſucceſs. Therefore, to conclude, we muſt all acknowledge, that wiſdom and happineſs dwell with God alone; and, among mortal men (both of their perſons and their ſtates) thoſe are the wiſeſt that commit the feweſt follies, and thoſe the happieſt that meet with the feweſt misfortunes.

LET-

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bart.

AND OTHER

MINISTERS of STATE,

Both at HOME and ABROAD:

CONTAINING

An account of the moſt Important Tranſactions that paſſed in Chriſtendom from 1665 to 1672.

Reviewed by Sir W. TEMPLE ſome time before his Death:

And publiſhed by JONATHAN SWIFT, domeſtic Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of Berkeley, one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland.

THE PUBLISHER's EPISTLE TO THE READER of the first Edition*.

THE collection of the following letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, *who was one of Sir* William Temple's *Secretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date. And it has succeeded very fortunately for the public, that there is contained in them an account of all the chief transactions and negotiations, which passed in Christendom during the seven years wherein they are dated; as, the war with* Holland, *which began in* 1665: *the treaty between his Majesty and the Bishop of* Munster, *with the issue of it: the* French *invasion of* Flanders *in the year* 1667: *the peace concluded between* Spain *and* Portugal, *by the King's mediation: the treaty at* Breda: *the triple alliance; and the peace of* Aix-la-Chapelle, *in the first part. And in the second part, the negotiations in* Holland *in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees by which they came to decay: the journey and death of Madame: the seizure of* Lorrain, *and his Excellency's recalling; with the first unkindness between* England *and* Holland, *upon the yacht's transporting his Lady and his family: and the beginning of the second* Dutch *war in* 1672.

* The dedication of the first edition was in these words:
"To his most sacred Majesty William III, King of England, "Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. these letters of Sir William "Temple, having been left to my care, they are most humbly "presented to your Majesty by your Majesty's most dutiful and "obedient subject, Jonathan Swift."

With

With theſe are intermixed ſeveral letters, familiar and pleaſant.

I found the book among Sir William Temple's *papers with many others, wherewith I had the opportunity of being long converſant, having paſſed ſeveral years in his family.*

I pretend no other part, than the care that Mr. Downton's *book ſhould be correctly tranſcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have alſo made ſome literal amendments, eſpecially in the* Latin, French, *and* Spaniſh: *theſe I have taken care ſhould be tranſlated and printed in another column, for the uſe of ſuch readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever faults there may be in the tranſlation, I doubt, I muſt anſwer for the greater part, and muſt leave the reſt to thoſe friends who were pleaſed to aſſiſt me. I ſpeak only of the* French *and* Latin; *for the few* Spaniſh *tranſlations, I believe, need no apology.*

It is generally believed, that this author has advanced our Engliſh *tongue to as great a perfection as it can well bear; and yet, how great a maſter he was of it, has, I think, never appeared ſo much, as it will in the following letters; wherein the ſtyle appears ſo very different, according to the difference of the perſons to whom they were addreſſed; either men of buſineſs, or idle; of pleaſure, or ſerious; of great or of leſs parts or abilities, in their ſeveral ſtations. So that one may diſcover the characters of moſt of thoſe perſons he writes to, from the ſtyle of his letters.*

At the end of each volume is added a collection, copied by the ſame hand, of ſeveral letters to this Ambaſſador, from the chief perſons employed, either at home or abroad, in theſe tranſactions, and during ſix years courſe of his negotiations. Among which are many from Penſionary John de Witt, *and all the writings of this kind, that I know of, which remain of that Miniſter ſo renowned in his time.*

It

It has been juſtly complained of, as a defect among us, that the Engliſh *tongue has produced no letters of any value; to ſupply which, it has been the vein, of late years, to tranſlate ſeveral out of other languages, though, I think, with little ſucceſs. Yet, among many advantages which might recommend this ſort of writing, it is certain, that nothing is ſo capable of giving a true account of ſtory as letters are; which deſcribe actions while they are alive and breathing; whereas all other relations are of actions paſt and dead. So as it hath been obſerved that the Epiſtles of* Cicero *to* Atticus *give a better account of thoſe times, than is to be found in any other writer.*

In the following letters, the reader will every-where diſcover the force and ſpirit of this author; but that which will moſt value them to the public, both at home and abroad, is, firſt, that the matters contained in them were the ground and foundation whereon all the wars and invaſions, as well as all the negotiations and treaties of peace in Chriſtendom, have ſince been raiſed; and next, that they are written by a perſon who had ſo great a ſhare in all thoſe tranſactions and negotiations.

By reſiding in his family I know the author has had frequent inſtances from ſeveral great perſons, both at home and abroad, to publiſh ſome Memoirs of thoſe affairs and tranſactions which are the ſubject of the following papers; and particularly of the treaties of the triple alliance, and thoſe of Aix-la-Chapelle: *but his uſual anſwer was, That whatever Memoirs he had written of thoſe times and negotiations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his death ſome papers might come out, wherein there would be ſome account of them; by which, he has often told me, he meant theſe letters.*

I had begun to fit them for the preſs during the author's life, but never could prevail for leave to publiſh them; though he was pleaſed to be at the pains of reviewing, and to give me his directions for digeſting them into order. It has ſince pleaſed God to take this great and good per-

ſon

ſon to himſelf; *and, he having done me the honour to leave and recommend to me the care of his writings, I thought I could not at preſent do a greater ſervice to my country, or to the author's memory, than by making theſe papers public.*

By way of introduction, I need only take notice, that, after the peace of the Pyrenees, *and his Majeſty's happy reſtoration in* 1660, *there was a general peace in Chriſtendom (except only the remainder of a war between* Spain *and* Portugal) *until the year* 1665, *when that between* England *and* Holland *began, which produced a treaty between his Majeſty and the Biſhop of* Munſter. *And this commences the following letters.*

THE

THE

First DUTCH War,

Begun May 1665.

To Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls of Ireland.

SIR, Bruſſels, Sept. 6, 1665.

THOUGH I was forced, by the King's command, not only to leave you and my family at very ſhort warning, and in a very melancholy ſeaſon, but without ſo much as telling you whither I was ſent; yet I would not fail making you this amends, by giving you an account of my journey and negotiations thus far, ſo ſoon as I thought it might be fit for me to do it.

When my Lord Arlington ſent for me to Sheen, it was to let me know that the King had received an overture from the Biſhop of Munſter, to enter into an alliance with his Majeſty againſt the Dutch, from whom he pretended many injuries; to bring an army into the field, and fall upon them by land, while his Majeſty continued the war by ſea: but at the ſame time to demand certain ſums of money, that would be neceſſary to bring him into the field, and to continue the war: and that, if his Majeſty would either treat with the Baron of Wreden (who was the Miniſter he ſent over in the greateſt privacy that could be) or ſend a Miniſter of his own to treat with him, he doubted not an eaſy agreement upon this matter; but deſired

it

it might be with all the ſecrecy imaginable. My Lord Arlington told me, the main articles were already agreed on here, and the money adjuſted; but that it was neceſſary for the King to ſend over ſome perſon privately to finiſh the treaty at Munſter, and to ſee the payments made at Antwerp, where the Biſhop ſeemed to deſire them. That I muſt go (if I undertook it) without train or character, and paſs for a Frenchman or a Spaniard in my journey; and made me the compliment to ſay, he had been perplexed, three or four days together, to think of a perſon that was not only capable of the affair and of the ſecret, but that was to be truſted with ſuch a ſum of money: but that when he had thought of me, and propoſed me to the King and to my Lord Chancellor, they had both approved it, and I muſt ſuddenly reſolve upon my anſwer to the propoſal he made me: but whether I accepted it or no, I muſt keep it ſecret from my neareſt friends.

I told him upon the place, I would ſerve his Majeſty the beſt I could in it, though, being a new man, I could not promiſe much for myſelf; that there was only one point I could by no means digeſt, which was the buſineſs of the money, having ever been averſe from charging myſelf with any body's but my own. This made at firſt ſome difficulty between us; but at laſt his Lordſhip was content to endeavour the engaging Alderman Backwell (who furniſhed it) to go over himſelf with it into Flanders, and there, by my order, to make the payment to the Biſhop's agent; and ſaid, he believed, at ſuch a time of infection in London, the Alderman might eaſily take an occaſion of ſuch a journey.

After my inſtructions diſpatched, I came away in haſte, and with the ſecrecy you ſaw; and, without more than one day's ſtop at Bruſſels, went ſtraight with the Baron of Wreden to Coeſvelt, where the Biſhop then was.

was. I ſtaid there but three days, was brought to him only by night, agreed all points with him, perfected and ſigned the treaty, and returned to Antwerp, where the Alderman performed his part, in making the firſt and great payment to the Biſhop's Reſident there. All this has been performed on all ſides with ſo great ſecrecy, that the Biſhop has not only received his money, but raiſed his troops to about eighteen thouſand men, without the leaſt umbrage given, that I can yet hear of, to the Dutch; and, by all the aſſurances I receive from him, I conclude, that before this letter comes to your hands he will be in the field; though ſome unexpected diſappointments, about a general officer he reckoned upon, has a little diſcompoſed the meaſures he had taken, and may (I doubt not) a little maim the progreſs of them: but that will be governed by time and accidents: my buſineſs was to bring him into the field, and I have had the fortune to do it ſooner than either they expected at Court, or the Biſhop had promiſed upon our ſigning of the treaty.

He is a man of wit, and, which is more, of ſenſe, of great ambition, and properly *un eſprit remuant*: but the vigour of his body does not ſecond that of his mind, being, as I gueſs, about ſix or ſeven and fifty years old, and purſued with the gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of life. He was a ſoldier in his youth, and ſeems, in his naturals, rather made for the Sword than the Croſs: he has a mortal hatred to the Dutch for their ſupporting his city of Munſter againſt him, and is bridling thoſe citizens by a very ſtrong citadel he is building there. He ſeems bold and reſolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken, or break his head in the attempt, and ſays he will perform all he has engaged, *fide ſincerâ et Germanicâ*, which is a word he affects. He ſpeaks the only good Latin that I have yet met with

in

in Germany, and more like a man of Court and buſineſs than a ſcholar: he ſays, if he fails in his enterprize, and ſhould loſe his country, he ſhall eſteem his condition not at all the worſe; for in that caſe he will go into Italy, and has money enough in the bank of Venice to buy a Cardinal's cap, which may become him better than his General's ſtaff; though he has a mind to try this firſt, and make ſome noiſe in the world before he retires.

This is the beſt character I can give of the Biſhop; and for myſelf I can ſay nothing but what you know; finding no change at all by this ſally into a new ſcene of life and buſineſs, as well as climate: my health, I thank God, the ſame; my kindneſs ſo too, to my friends and to home; only my concernment for them, in this miſerable time among them, much greater while I am here than when I was with them, which makes me very impatient after every poſt that comes in, and yet very apprehenſive of every letter I open. The length of this I doubt is too much for once, and therefore ſhall end with the aſſurances of my being, Sir, your moſt obedient ſon, and humble ſervant,

W. TEMPLE.

To Alderman Backwell.

Mr Alderman, Bruſſels, Oct. 9, 1665.

I AM very much in pain to find at Monſieur Rhintorf's return, that he has made no progreſs in his affairs (which are ours too) during the ſtay he has lately made at Antwerp. But I am very much ſurpriſed to hear that I ſhould have had any part in this delay, and that you ſhould have told him, you had no orders from me to pay him that money. However, to take away all ſcruple, if any can ſtill remain, after our laſt conference at Bruſſels upon this ſubject, I do by theſe preſents order and appoint you, purſuant

ſuant to thoſe powers that have been given me from the King, to pay or cauſe to be paid to Monſieur Rhintorf, or his order, all ſuch ſums of money as you ſhall any ways be able to raiſe, either by the ſale of ſuch tin as is already arrived, or ſhall arrive at Oſtend upon his Majeſty's account, with all the diligence and diſpatch that is poſſible. Or, in caſe you do not find any ready ſale for it, that you will at leaſt pay him all ſuch ſums as you ſhall be able to raiſe, by pawning or engaging it to the beſt advantage you can. After this I need ſay no more, than to conjure you by all the zeal you have for his Majeſty's ſervice, and all the friendſhip you have for me, to employ upon this occaſion your utmoſt diligence and credit; for the conjuncture is grown ſo extremely preſſing at this time, that I can never ſay enough to recommend this ſervice to your beſt endeavours. I am, Sir, your ſervant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, Oct. 13, N. S. 1665.

UPON Saturday laſt, about nine at night, the Biſhop's agent here brought me a deſire from the [p] Marquis to come privately to him. We ſtaid long together, and talked much. The ſubſtance was, that he had laſt poſt writ to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador to inform the King, that he heard the French were ready to march in aſſiſtance of the Hollander againſt the Biſhop of Munſter, and had told the Spaniſh Ambaſſador in France, they ſhould take all delays here in leave of paſſage for denial: that he (the Marquis) was reſolved, upon confidence of his Majeſty's late letter and aſſiſtance, to oppoſe them till he received orders from Spain, and hopes his Majeſty will not

[p] Of Caſtel Rodrigo, Governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

fail of protecting and defending him in this resolution: he speaks with much earnestness and passion for concluding the league between England and Spain; and either a peace or truce between Spain and Portugal; in which he very much presses his Majesty's interposition at this time; because nothing else will take away the dishonour on the Spanish side, but the respect given to so great and powerful a King's mediation. He assures me, he has given an absolute denial to the Hollanders demand of buying a great quantity of corn in these countries, which now begins to be one among their other great wants: that the French, upon jealousy of the Swede, sent very lately an Envoy into Holland, to join with them in pressing the Dane to put himself into a posture of making a diversion: that, for security of these countries, six thousand Spaniards and Italians were in a few days expected here; these by land, those by sea: and that, for raising German troops, he had last week sent five hundred thousand guilders into Germany, from whence, if they needed, he could have twenty-four thousand men, so as he doubted not to defend these countries, if France assaults him. The biass of all this discourse was to shew they had no great need of our assistance, at the same time they press so much to be assured of it; and to represent the mutual necessity of a conjunction between England and Spain, with all the expressions of affection to his Majesty's person and service, that a courtier, or almost a lover, could use. Upon this last subject I could not let him pass with the discourse of the late King's ruin, and his Majesty's danger at home for want of friendship abroad; nor could I leave that point, because he had so often harped upon it, till I forced him to confess, at least by silence, that his Majesty was as safe at home at this time, as either the French or Spanish King.

For

For the reſt, finding him now much warmer than he uſed to ſeem in the deſires of the Biſhop of Munſter's ſucceſs, or, at leaſt, preſervation; and finding from Alderman Backwell that he had yet been able to raiſe no more money upon all our tin at Antwerp for the ſecond payment, thoſe paltry merchants combining to ruin him in the price of it, upon the belief of his neceſſity to ſell; I would not omit that occaſion of deſiring the Marquis to find ſome perſon out that ſhould take it all off our hands with ready money, which they might raiſe at their own leiſure, and, I believed, with much gains; in which I aſſured him he would give his Majeſty a great teſtimony of his affection to his ſervice, which was ſo much concerned in the Biſhop of Munſter's fortunes. He told me, he would conſult about it next morning; and upon Sunday night ſent one with a diſpatch of mine to Alderman Backwell, to know the whole quantity and loweſt price: ſo that I am now in great hopes of ſeeing ſome good iſſue of that buſineſs, which I almoſt began to deſpair of.

An expreſs from the Biſhop of Munſter came to me on Saturday laſt, proteſting he could no longer ſubſiſt unleſs the money came; and your Lordſhip may eaſily imagine how much pain I am in upon that occaſion; eſpecially hearing myſelf ſo often reproached for having drawn him to ſo deſperate an adventure, ſo much againſt his own reſolutions, which were, not to take the field till the ſecond payment were received, and the third aſſured on this ſide: it would look like vanity in me to tell your Lordſhip more, of what I hear too much, of this kind; but I will ſay, that, unleſs you take ſome ſpeedy and effectual reſolution in this particular, I ſhall look like the verieſt rogue in the world, and ſuch as it will not be much for his Majeſty's honour to employ. But after all I will tell your Lordſhip freely, that I

think all my trains had not taken fire without a perfect accident, which I had the good fortune to improve so upon the sudden, as to make it the absolute occasion of the Bishop's taking the field when he did; which I shall some time or other, I hope, entertain you with, and will serve for a moral to shew how small shadows and accidents sometimes give a rise to great actions among mankind; for either such, or the beginning of such, this bold march is like to prove. All I know of its success you will find in these letters; one from my Lord Carlingford, to whom I cannot send your Lordship's last, till I have further directions from him for my address; the other being part of one from a person in the Holland camp belonging to the Rhingrave. Twenty rumours more we have of his successes, but I will not yet credit them: this much I will, that nothing can probably endanger him besides want of money, and that I know him to be a man too firm to be diverted from his point, or slacken it without some such maim; for he wants neither prudence, courage, nor ambition. For the Hollanders, they were certainly never worse at their ease than now, being braved and beaten both at sea and land; flayed with taxes, distracted with factions, and their last resource, which is the protection of France, poisoned with extreme jealousies; yet that must be their game, or else a perfect truckling peace with England. I am ever your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Brussels, Nov. 20, N. S. 1665.

I AM to acknowledge the honour I received last, by one from your Grace of October the 25th, which gives me the occasion to beg your belief, that the frequent troubles I give your Grace of this kind, proceed

proceed from a moſt hearty and unintereſted duty, without the leaſt thoughts of making any unconſcionable advantage by ſuch a commerce, or at leaſt expecting a return of ſo great value, as your Lordſhip's letters to a venture ſo ſmall as mine. I confeſs I am extremely pleaſed with any teſtimonies of your Grace's remembrance and favour to me; which I muſt eſteem the beſt, and ever acknowledge for the firſt, of my good fortunes: nor ſhall I ever be ſo much pleaſed with any lucky hits that may happen to me in public employments from any other reſpect, as from the hopes of meeting ſome occaſion to expreſs the eſteem and reſentment of kindneſs ſhewed me, when I was idle and unknown. But I beſeech your Grace never to give yourſelf the leaſt trouble, or loſe time in writing to me upon the ſcore of common civility, but to deal with me perfectly like one of your own; and write only when you have commands to honour me, or inclinations to oblige me: for the reſt, one word to my father, or brother, may at any time give me the knowledge that mine are received, which is all they pretend, and perhaps more than they deſerve.

Since the paſſage of the French troops, which thought fit to touch no part of theſe dominions, we hear little of them: their number fell ſomething ſhort of ſix thouſand, their horſe were brave as they paſſed Maeſtricht; their foot raſcally, their ſhoes upon their ſhoulders, their feet galled, and their gallantry ſpent in giving the Dutch a thouſand times to the Devil for their kind invitation: they paid nothing as they paſſed, or falſe money; took the beſt treatment the Dutch could make them with ſcorn and inſolence, and drank his Majeſty's and the Prince of Munſter's health openly in the market-place at Maeſtricht; a ſtrain I ſuppoſe of their extravagance, rather than good meaning. So I leave them, as they do their colours

when they can, and return this way by couples and leaſhes good store. By the laſt from the Prince of Munſter of the 12th inſtant, we had aſſurance that his bridge over the main ... perfected, his army joined, and that Colonel or Baron d'Oſſory (who is made a Serjeant Major de Bataglia) had with a ſquadron of horſe killed nine hundred of the Dutch in a late encounter near Groninguen; beſides this, and the French Envoy's, Monſieur Leſſyn, having been diſmiſſed with general terms, I had nothing but deſperate melancholy complaints of his diſappointments from his friends, which I will not trouble your Grace with at this diſtance.

I had my firſt formal audience laſt night from the Marquis, and was received with the greateſt expreſſions of zeal and devotion to the King my maſter's perſon and ſervice; of the reſentment of the honour done him by this reſolution of a Reſident here, and wonderful compliment to the perſonal choice; as I believe your Grace knows, good words of all ſorts coſt no man leſs than his Excellency; but I am very confident his inclinations to us, his averſions to France, his deſires of a truce with Portugal, and ſtrict league with England, are all very hearty. I am ever your Grace's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

To the Baron Wreden.

Bruſſels, Dec. 10, 1665.

SIR,

I Received your's, and am glad of your arrival at Court, where I never doubted the good reception ſo honeſt a Gentleman would find, who came from ſo brave a Prince. I am ſorry for your bad wine and

Au Baron Wreden.

A Bruſſelles, le 10. *Dec. N. S.* 1665.

Monſieur,

J'AY reçu la votre, & je me rejouis de votre arrivée à la Cour; je n'ay jamais doutè qu'un auſſi honnête homme que vous, & qui a l'honneur d' être envoyé par un Prince auſſi diſtingué, n'y trouvât toute ſorte de

and lodging at Oxford; for as to the former I know it is a ſort of plague you are more afraid of than that at London, where in a little time I hope you will have no occaſion to complain either of one or the other: in the mean while, take my word for the matter, it is but half a dozen glaſſes more, and good or bad comes all to the ſame thing. As for your lodging, in troth I believe the crowd is ſo great at preſent in every houſe, that you will hardly find an opportunity of making love to your landlady: but, Sir, you muſt have a little patience, and not think of ſucceeding in all amours at the rate you did with Madamoiſelle Iſabella; beſides, if you remember, it coſt you dear enough then, by the fright you were in of loſing your great diamond. Love, like other things, is good for nothing when one makes too much haſte in it; and our Engliſh Ladies do not care that men ſhould be over violent in beginning this game, for fear they ſhould be ſo in concluding it.

Well, I am heartily ſorry I can give you no good recommendations where you are, becauſe I am ſure you would

de bon accueil. Je prens part au mauvais giſte d'Oxford, & au mechant vin que vous y avez bû. A l'egard de ce dernier, je ſçay que c'eſt une ſorte de peſte que vous craignez plus que celle de Londres; & au reſte, j'eſpere qu'avant qu'il ſoit peu, vous n'aurez plus ſujet de vous y plaindre ni de l'un ni de l'autre. En attendant, croyez moy, il ne faut que ſix verres de vin de plus, il n'importe qu'il ſoit bon ou mauvais, & tout reviendra à la même choſe. Pour le logement, je m'imagine que la foule eſt ſi grande à cette heure dans toutes les maiſons, que vous ne trouvez pas les moyens de faire commodement l'amour à la fille du logis; mais, Monſieur, il faut avoir un peu de patience, & ne croire pas reüſſir toujours avec autant de bonheur & de rapidité que vous fites avec Madamoiſelle Iſabelle: encore, devez vous vous ſouvenir, qu'il vous en couta alors aſſez cher par l'extreme peur que vous eûtes, quand vous vous apperçûtes du danger que couroit le gros diamant. L'amour auſſi-bien que toutes les autres choſes, ne vaut plus rien dès qu'on le traite trop à la hâte; & nos filles ne veulent point qu'on ſoit ſi precipité à commencer cette ſorte de jeu, de peur que la fin ne reſſemble trop au commencement.

Je ſuis, ma foy, trés marri de ne pouvoir vous adreſſer ſurement dans la ville où vous êtes; car de l'humeur dont je vous con-

would be so just and generous to pay me by a bill of exchange on your little mistress here. But now I talk of a mistress, you must know Monsieur le Chevalier has ordered his affairs here worse than at Paris: for I believe seriously he passed through this place without so much as paying one visit to his; and that is the reason why he carried so much money to Munster, and rode post with greater vigour than ever he did from hence to France.

And is not this now a very fine letter for two grave Ministers of State? But come, we must talk a little of business, if it be only for the good grace of the matter: and yet I am confident, if Sir Bealing would entertain you at this rate but once a month, and unbend himself a little from his serious way, you would reckon him as your only friend, and think no more of me.

Well, but you have heard what the Dutch Resident tells us, that the Prince of Munster has taken Reyde, a small sea-port, where his friends may come and give him a visit. The news from Antwerp say farther, that he has got the fort of Bourtang; but they add, how the Bishop of Osnabrug is resolved to let the world see, that a Lutheran Prelate

nois, je sçay que vous seriez assez généreux, & assez équitable, pour me rembourser par une lettre d'échange sur vôtre petite maîtresse Brabançonne. Mais à propos de maîtresse, Monsieur le Chevalier a plus mal fait ses affaires icy qu' à Paris; car je croy tout de bon qu'il a posse par icy sans voir seulement la sienne; mais c'est par là aussi qu'il a porté tant d'argent à Munster, & qu'il a couru la poste plus courageusement qu'il n'a fait d'icy en France.

Voici, ma foy, une belle lettre pour deux sages Ministres; tout de bon il faut un peu parler d'affaires, ne fût-ce que pour sauver les apparences: mais, avouez la verité, si le Chevalier Bealing vous entretenoit seulement une fois le mois, comme je viens de faire, & qu'en vôtre faveur il relachât un peu de ce grand serieux, n'est-il pas vray, qu'il n'y auroit plus que luy qui fût de vos amis, & que je perdrois la place que j'occupe dans vôtre souvenir.

Savez vos bien que le Resident d'Hollande avoue que le Prince de Munster a pris Reyde, un petit port de mer, où il peut être visité de ses amis; & que les avis d'Anvers nous disent, qu'il est venu à bout du fort de Bourtang. Mais on dit aussi que l'Evêque d'Osnabrug est fort piqué de la pensée qu'on peut avoir qu'un Evêque Lutherien ne vaut pas un Eveque Catholique;

&

late is as good as a Catholic; and, to that end, is reſolved, at the head of ſome Lunenbourg troops, to go knock mitres with your Maſter: all in good time. And as for heads, I do not doubt the Prince of Munſter's is much the ſtronger of the two; but for the mitres I can ſay nothing. I am told beſides, that your Chapter of Munſter has ſomewhat embroiled your Maſter's affairs; if this be ſo, there are more *Diables de Canons* beſide yourſelf. But I believe the matter is not much; for, if it were, I know the Prince would quickly make Monſieur d'Herbe and Monſieur Majette a couple of Canons, in exchange for ſome of thoſe blockheads: and for Grand Dean, I think the Governor of Pleuren, with his great belly, would make a good figure enough. Who knows but ſuch revolutions may happen? For, to ſpeak in your own words, *The world is as round as a*— For my own part, I had rather be one of your Maſter's Prieſts than his Soldiers; for they ſay here, that he riſes at four o'clock, gives them [his Soldiers] his benediction, and then ſends them to the D— over bogs and marſhes, where no ſecular Captain durſt ever paſs.

Farewell, Sir; and, when you intend to warm yourſelf with ſack, pray remember to order

& qu'il eſt tout reſolu de s'avancer à la téte de quelques troupes de Lunebourg, & d'aller heurter ſa mitre contre celle de vôtre Maître: a la bonne heure; car je ne doute pas que Monſieur le Prince n'ait la téte plus forte & plus dure; à l'egard des mitres je n'en ſay rien. On m'a dit auſſi, que vôtre Chapitre de Munſter va un peu brouiller les affaires de vôtre Maître; ſi cela eſt, voilà ma foy des Diables de Canons, *auſſi bien que vous. Mais je croy qu'il n'en eſt rien; car ſi cela étoit, le Prince ne manqueroit pas de faire bientôt deux Chanoines de Meſſieurs d'Herbe & de Majette, & de les échanger pour quelqu'un de ces étourdis: le Gouverneur de Pleuren ne manqueroit de pretence, ſi le titre de grand Doyen étoit enté ſur ſon gros ventre. On ne ſait point ſi de pareils changemens ne pourroient pas bien arriver; car (ſelon vôtre phraſe Allemande)* Roond is the werld as een——*Pour moy, j' aimerois mieux être de ſes Prêtres que de ſes Soldats; car on dit icy qu'il leur donne ſa benediction, & les envoye au diable, je veux dire, à travers de marais impraticables, d'où jamais Capitaine ſeculier n'auroit osé approcher.*

Adieu Monſieur, & ſouvenez vous bien en vous échauffant des fumées du vin des Canaries, qu'on

order your ſervants, inſtead of removing your ſword, to remove your purſe, and prevent you from doing (according to your cuſtom) more good than you deſign, as they prevent others from doing miſchief. For it is a cuſtom in England, that whatever a man gives away over night, he hears no more of it next morning. At all hours of both I am, Sir, your moſt affectionate ſervant.

qu'on prend ſouvent la precaution d'ôter de devant un homme qui a bû, ſon epée, de peur qu'il ne faſſe le mechant; mais que vos amis en doivent prendre une oppoſée, qui eſt de vous ôter vôtre argent, de peur que ne faſſiez trop le généreux; car en Angleterre, ce qu'on donne le ſoir, ne ſe retrouve plus le matin: quant à moy, & le ſoir & le matin vous me trouverez toujours, Monſieur, votre très affectionné ſerviteur.

To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Bruſſels, Dec. 12,
My Lord, N. S. 1665.

THE news of your Excellency's indiſpoſition has very ſenſibly afflicted me; but God Almighty will, I doubt not, quickly reſtore your health, which is of too great importance to Chriſtendom, to ſink under common accidents.

I deſire your pardon for the liberty I take to let you know, how Monſieur Rhintorf complains exceedingly, that he finds yet no advance in the affair you were pleaſed to undertake for his Maſter's ſake, and indeed for that of the King my Maſter too. I deſire your Excellency once more to give your hand to it; and that, if thoſe merchants will not buy the tin, you will give order at leaſt to have it engaged for three

Au Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Bruſſelles, Dec. 12,
Monſieur, S. N. 1665.

LA nouvelle de l'indiſpoſition que vôtre Excellence a reſſentie depuis quelque jours, m'a ſenſiblement touché; mais je ne doute point, que Dieu ne retabliſſe bien-tôt une ſanté qui eſt trop neceſſaire à la Chrétienté pour ſuccomber ſous des accidens vulgaires.

Je vous demande pardon de la liberté que je prens de vous avertir que Monſieur Rhintorf ſe plaint extrêmement de ce qu'il ne trouve encore rien de fait dans l'affaire qu'il vous a plu de pendre à cœur en faveur de ſon Maître; ainſi que ſur la recommendation du Roy mon Maître: je ſupplie V. E. d'y mettre encore une fois la main, & de donner ordre que ſi on a reſolu de ne point accepter cette mar-

three parts of its value, ſo as ſome preſent remedy may be found to the Biſhop's neceſſities, wherewith (by means of this delay) he is now preſſed to the laſt extremities.

I take more part in this affair, having already writ to the King my Maſter, that you had wholly finiſhed it in affection to his ſervice, for which I do not doubt but you will receive his Majeſty's thanks by the firſt courier; ſo that I ſhall be in the greateſt confuſion imaginable if the buſineſs fails, and his Majeſty cannot chuſe but think me very impertinent.

By my laſt diſpatch from Court, of the 18th inſtant, I am informed that the Spaniſh Ambaſſador did that evening privately deliver his new credentials to the King, to whom and his Miniſters he ſtill continued to be very acceptable; and that, upon arrival of theſe credentials, they began to enter in good earneſt upon adjuſting our common intereſts.

By a letter of the 15th inſtant, from the Prince of Munſter, I am informed of the great and happy progreſs of his arms; but on the other ſide, that the Hollanders uſed their laſt endeavours to raiſe againſt

marchandiſe, du moins on la prenne en gage pour les trois quarts de ſa valeur; à fin de remedier ſur le champ aux neceſſitez dont Monſieur l'Evêque ſe trouve preſſé, qui peut-être ſont rendues extremes par ce retardement.

Je me trouve d'autant plus intereſſé dans cette affaire, qu'ayant deja mandé au Roy mon Maître que vous l'aviez tout-à-fait finie dans la veüe de rendre ſervice à ſa Majeſté, ce qui vous ſera ſans doute marqué avec remercîment de ſa part par le premier courier; je ſerois l'homme du monde le plus confus, & le plus impertinent aux yeux du Roy mon Maître, ſi cette affaire venoit à manquer.

Par la derniere lettre que j'ay reçeue la Cour dattée du 18, *du courant, j'ay été averti que Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne avoit le ſoir de ce jour-là preſenté au Roy ſes nouvelles lettres de créance & que ſa perſonne étoit toujours fort agréable à lui & à ſes Miniſtres: qu'au reſte, ſur l'arrivée de ces nouvelles lettres de creance on alloit commencer de fort bon cœur à ajuſter nos interêts communs.*

Par une lettre du Prince de Munſter du 15. *du courant, j'ay été averti de ſes grands & heureux progrez; mais que d'un autre coté, les Hollandois faiſoient tous leurs efforts pour ſoulever contre luy tous les Prin-*

ces

againſt him all the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire, under pretext, that religion has part in the quarrel, as well as the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria: and on both theſe accounts, as well as from your own generoſity, your Excellency is engaged not to diſappoint him in this little occaſion: not to alledge the moral, which tells us, that *whatever good we can do, without damage to ourſelves, we are obliged to do, even to a ſtranger.*

Upon an anſwer from your Excellency, I am ready to diſpatch an expreſs to Antwerp, and ſhall remain, My Lord, your Excellency's moſt humble and obedient ſervant.

ces Proteſtans de l'Empire; ſous le pretexte que la religion & la maiſon d'Autriche y étoient intereſſes. C'eſt par-là auſſi bien que par vôtre generoſité que vous êtes engagé à ne ly pas manquer en cette petite occaſion, pour n'alleguer pas la morale qui nous dit, Quicquid ſine detrimento facere potes, vel ignoto faciendum.

ſur la reſponſe de V. E. je ſuis tout prêt à depecher un exprès à Anvers; & bien reſolu d'être toujours, de V. E. le très humble & très obéiſſant ſerviteur.

To Sir William Coventry.

SIR, Bruſſels, Dec. 15, N. S. 1665.

I Am to acknowledge both the honour and obligation I received by yours of November the 9th, the laſt of which ſeems ſo great in that light you give it, and by thoſe circumſtances I now ſee attend it, that, had it come from any other hands, I ſhould have wiſhed a thouſand times never to have received it. For there are very few I deſire much to be obliged to, having always thought that a ſort of debt, which ought as duly to be paid as that of money, with more intereſt, and much greater difficulty of caſting up. But, knowing that all generous perſons are apt to favour, and eſteem their own, rather ſuch whom they oblige, than ſuch as ſerve them; I am extremely glad to have my name enter into the knowledge of his Royal Highneſs, by his bounty and favour in the grant

grant of those passports, rather than any other way I could have taken; and beg of you, that, with my humble thanks, his Royal Highness may know I enter into his service with this advance of wages, which it shall be always my endeavour, as it is my duty, to deserve. I owe, and should say, a great deal to yourself upon this occasion, but that, with my thanks for the thing itself, I am to join my complaints for the manner of it: I mean, that you should trouble yourself to reason me out of any custom or action you would have me leave off, or say any thing upon such a subject, besides that you wish it had been otherwise; which, I desire you to believe, shall in far greater matters be, from your hand, persuasion and command enough to me. My presumptions may be great with my friends, but they are the easiliest checked of any man's alive; which is all I shall say upon this occasion as to the future: and for the past, I will only assure you, that I should not in the least have offered at what I did, had it not been at the earnest instance of the Prince of Munster's Resident here: and I am to make it my business abroad to enter as far as I can into the secrets, and, for that end, into the affections, of such Ministers as I have to deal with; and, as some men are to be gained directly by their heart, so are others by their hands. But another fault were easier to be borne than a long excuse; I will not add to it by our news, since of all I write I am sure you know as much as you please; only in general our Bishop loses not courage nor strength upon all the great preparations of enemies, or disappointment of friends. The Dutch seem to be plagued by their own god, and to grow unhappy in their own element, the sea having done them, in the last storms, most extravagant harms: some letters from Amsterdam say to the value of thirty, and others, to sixty millions: their case

caſe may grow harder yet, if the froſts do ſo from the Munſter ſide. Our Court here is paſſionate towards the league between the two crowns; as I am in the deſires of growing in your friendſhip and favour, and deſerving it by any teſtimonies I can give of my being, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To dame Auguſtina Cary.

MADAM, Bruſſels, Feb. 16, N. S. 1666.

I Know not whether the ſhame of having been ſo long in your debt be greater, than that of paying it ſo ill at laſt; but, I am ſure, it is much harder to be excuſed, and therefore ſhall not attempt it, but leave it to Father Placid's oratory; though, having failed in the ſubſtantial part of your buſineſs, I have little reaſon to hope he will ſucceed better in the ceremonial part of mine. The truth is, there is ſo great a difference in common ſound between, *It is done*, and *It will be done*, that I was unwilling to acknowledge the honour of having received your Ladyſhip's commands, before I had compaſſed that of obeying them; which the Marquis here hath ſo often aſſured me would ſuddenly fall to my ſhare, that I thought we had both equal reaſon, his Excellency to do it, and I to believe it. This right I muſt yet do him, that I never preſſed him in this concern of your Ladyſhip's, but he told me all my arguments were needleſs, for the thing ſhould be done; and how to force a man that yields I never underſtood; but yet I much doubt, that, till the reſult be given upon the groſs of this affair, which is and has been ſome time under view, your part in particular will hardly be thought ripe for either his juſtice, or favour, which will be rather the ſtyle it muſt run in, if it be a deſire of exemption from a general rule given in the caſe. Whatever perſon

perſon (after the Father's return) ſhall be appointed to obſerve the courſe of this affair, and purſue the Lady's pretenſions here, will be ſure of all the aſſiſtance I can at any time give him; though I think it would prove a more public ſervice to find ſome way of diſſolving your ſociety, and by that means diſperſing ſo much worth about the world, than, by preſerving you together, confine it to a corner, and ſuffer it to ſhine ſo much leſs, and go out ſo much ſooner, than otherwiſe it would. The ill effects of your retreat appear too much in the ill ſucceſs of your buſineſs; for I cannot think any thing could fail that your Ladyſhip would ſolicit; but, I preſume, nothing in this lower ſcene is worthy either that, or ſo much as your deſire or care, which are words that enter not your grates, to diſturb that perfect quiet and indifferency which I will believe inhabit there, and by your happineſs decide the long diſpute, whether the greater lies in wanting nothing, or poſſeſſing much.

I cannot but tell you it was unkindly done to refreſh the memory of your brother Da Cary's loſs, which was not a more general one to mankind, than it was particular to me: but, if I can ſucceed in your Ladyſhip's ſervice, as well as I had the honour once to do in his friendſhip, I ſhall think I have lived to good purpoſe here, and for hereafter ſhall leave it to Almighty God, with a ſubmiſſion as abandoned, as you can exerciſe in the low common concernments of this worthleſs life, which I can hardly imagine was intended us for ſo great a miſery as it is here commonly made, or to betray ſo large a part of the world to ſo much greater hereafter, as is commonly believed. However, I am obliged to your Ladyſhip for your prayers, which I am ſure are well intended me, and ſhall return you mine, that no ill thoughts of my faith may

poſſeſs

poſſeſs your Ladyſhip with an ill one of my works too, which I am ſure cannot fail of being very meritorious, if ever I reach the intentions I have of expreſſing myſelf upon all occaſions, Madam, your Ladyſhip's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 1, N. S. 1666.

I Need ſay nothing to bring your Lordſhip acquainted with Mr. Sherwood's perſon or errand; yet, becauſe all men take themſelves to meaſure beſt their own buſineſs, I would not diſappoint his deſires of this addreſs; though, to add any thing to what I write upon all occaſions, of the Prince of Munſter's condition, neceſſities, or complaints, were, as I take it, juſt ſo much of nothing to the purpoſe. All I will ſay is, that whatever his Majeſty reſolves to do, ought to be ſudden, and in a lump, to provide for his taking the field this ſpring, with heart and ſtrength, which I believe a ſum within the compaſs of a hundred of his Majeſty's ſubjects would enable him to do: nothing will ever hinder me to give your Lordſhip thoſe teſtimonies I deſire of the moſt hearty conſtant paſſion, wherewith I ſhall ever be, My Lord, your Lordſhip's, &c.

To the Duke of Albemarle.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 1, N. S. 1666.

UPON Mr. Sherwood's paſſage this way into England, from the Biſhop of Munſter, I could not refuſe him the occaſion of waiting upon your Grace, who ſo well knows how far his Majeſty's honour and intereſt may be concerned in the ſucceſs of his errand.

Though

Though that Prince's neceſſities may be grown great, as well as his complaints and the arrears of his payments, yet, I am confident, five and twenty or thirty thouſand pounds in a lump, and ſudden, would bring him ſtrong and vigorous into the field this ſpring; which would prove a cheap advantage to his Majeſty's arms, and perhaps the greateſt in ſight, next to your Grace's commanding this ſummer's fleet; from which we all here certainly reckon upon a ſucceſs ſuitable to the reſt of your fortunes and glories, which I hope to ſee completed upon the French fleets. Mine will be great, if your Grace pleaſes to eſteem me, as you will ever have reaſon to do, My Lord, your Grace's moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To my Lord Carlingford.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 6, N. S. 1666.

I Have this exception to your ſervice, that my faults are taken notice of, and not my diligence; for, in your Lordſhip's of the 21ſt paſt, I find not the leaſt mention of any letters received from me, though, I am confident by other circumſtances, ſome of them muſt have been come to your hands. I fear your news at Vienna is not ſo good nor true as your wine; and, by the abundance of reports with ſhallow grounds, I doubt your Court is rather inclined to hear news than to make it. That Brandenburg is our enemy, at leaſt for four months, is too certain: that Sweden is a friend to Munſter, we may gueſs rather from cauſes, than any effects that I know of: and ſince neither the Emperor nor Spain will contribute any thing towards the Biſhop's aſſiſtance, nor ſo much as the ſtaving off enemies, that by Dutch and French are raiſing up againſt him in the Empire itſelf, I know no remedy. But yet, in ſpite of all force and artifice to diſarm him, I expect, for my part, to

ſee him rather beſieged in Coeſvelt or Munſter, than make a peace without our Maſter's conſent, as it is hoped by our enemies, and perhaps wiſhed by ſome of our friends, for fear the continuance of his muſic ſhould make them dance before they have a mind to it. But I believe all their coldneſs and ſhrinking will hardly defend them, and may help them rather to loſe their friends, than gain their enemies; for we have certain news that the French have made a *place d'armes* between la Fere and Peronne, where that King is coming down to the rendezvouſes of fifteen thouſand men: and the Hollanders, on the other ſide, are ſo incurably poſſeſſed with an opinion of ſome wonderful deep important league between us and Spain, that they are upon the very brink of reſolving a war too, and concluding a league offenſive, as well as defenſive, with France; at leaſt, if the aſcendant of this year be favourable to De Witt's party as that of the laſt was, which begins to be a little doubted of late. I will not ſend your Lordſhip any Engliſh letters, nor our declaration of war againſt the French, in confidence it goes along with your pacquet; by which you will ſee his Majeſty hath been as generous and civil as the French King was rough in his, to call it no worſe: but he hath begun the war with ſo much heat, that I am apt to believe he will come to be cool before it ends.

I ſhall ill deſerve your Lordſhip's leave of writing often, if I do it ſo long, and ſo little to the purpoſe together. After I have told you my Lord Offory is come over into England, and that my Lord Arlington is for certain (as they ſay both in England and here) to marry the Lady Æmilia, my Lady of Offory's ſiſter, I will give your Lordſhip the good night, almoſt as late as I imagine you uſe to go to bed, and only tell you that I am, at all hours, My Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant.

To

To Sir Philip Warwick.

SIR, Bruſſels, March 12, N. S. 1666.

THOUGH it be more eaſy and more uſual to beg favours, than to acknowledge them, yet I find you are reſolved to force me upon the laſt, without ever giving me time or occaſion for the other. How much I am obliged to you in my laſt diſpatch, I am told enough by Mr. Godolphin, but more by my own heart, which will never ſuffer me to believe, that a perſon to whom I have been ſo long, and am ſo much a ſervant, ſhould be any other than kind to me; for that is my way of judging my abſent friends, and ſerves, like a watch in my pocket, to meaſure the time, though I ſee no ſun. The very name of time puts me in mind, that yours is not to be ſpent idly; and that you are more pleaſed to oblige your friends, than to receive their thanks: and therefore I will only ſay, that mine are very ſenſible and very hearty, and that no man is, with more reaſon and with more ſincereneſs, than I am, Sir, your affectionate humble ſervant.

To the Biſhop of Munſter. Epiſcopo Monaſterii.

Bruſſels, March 12, N. S. 1666.

SIR, YOUR Highneſs's letter of the 9th inſtant came in due time to my hands, by which I plainly find with how much faith and conſtancy, as well as wiſdom and courage, your Highneſs intends to order your affairs. My utmoſt endeavours ſhall not be wanting for the advancing of them, as

Bruxellis, Martii 12. Celſiſſime Dom. N. S. 1666.

RECTÈ et tempeſtivè admodum mihi redditæ ſunt literæ Celſitudinis veſtræ, 9. Martii datæ; è quibus planè perſpexi quàm inconcuſſâ fide, et quàm decorâ conſtantiâ C. V. res ſuas ſemper ornatura ſit, dum eaſdem eximiâ prudentiâ et animo molitur interea, et gubernat. Mihi certè nihil erit unquam an-

as well as for increasing and cultivating the confidence his Majesty hath in your Highness (on which the common league chiefly relies) especially at this time, when so many ill-designing men use all endeavours to shake or destroy it; wherein it is hard to tell whether their folly or malice be greater.

I hear every day in this city, that your Highness has made peace with the Hollanders, without any regard to us or our league, or so much as consulting his Majesty upon it: and I pretend to believe what I am told, though I am inwardly assured to the contrary. As for whispers and rumours, it is not my custom either to amuse others, or perplex myself with them. I confess I was somewhat moved with a letter from the Duke of Brunswick to a man of understanding in this city, which I lately saw and read; wherein he seems to feed himself and his friend with hopes of a speedy peace in all those parts of Germany, and assures him, from his certain knowledge, that the Prince of Munster will accept it in case it be offered to him without the greatest ignominy and loss; wherein he says the neighbouring Princes use all means to engage him.

antiquius isto officio, quod semper præstiti et præstiturus sum tam in illis omni modo promovendis, quam in formandâ, et si opus fuerit erigendâ sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestatis fiduciâ, quâ præcipuè niti videtur communis fœderis vinculum et robur, hoc præsertim tempore cùm multi et vafri et ventosi homines illam pedibus eant labefactatum, majore levitate nescio, an malitiâ.

In hac urbe pacem jam ratam iri inter C. Vm. et Hollandos, posthabitis omnino rationibus et fœderis et nostris, nedum consultâ voluntate, ego utrisque auribus quotidiè accipio; credulitatem simulo, toto autem pectore inficias eo. Rumoribus certè et susurris nec mihi alios pascere assuetum, nec meipsum excruciare; commotum me paulò fateor literis Ducis Brunswicensis viro sagaci in hâc urbe transmissis, quas ipse nuperrimè vidi, legique diligentiùs, in quibus, et sese et amicum multâ spe lactare videtur pacis in universis istis Germaniæ partibus breviter restituendæ; sibique pro comperto constare asserit, principem Monasterii eam libentissimè accepturum, modò sine summâ ignominiâ et damno eam oblatam iri contingat; in quo vicinos ait Principes oleum et operam summo jam studio impendere.

I am

Mar-

I am ſorry to find the Marquis of Caſtel Rodrigo of the ſame opinion; becauſe I know the event muſt be diſhonourable to your Highneſs, and will be imputed to the King my Maſter, perhaps as imprudence, at leaſt, as ill fortune. Nor do I think the Spaniards, at this time of day, ſo generous as to promote the league (which we hope to ſee confirmed by my Lord Sandwich's embaſſy into Spain) if they once imagine, though but falſly, that his Majeſty, among ſuch potent enemies, is forſaken by his neareſt confederates.

On the contrary, I am entirely perſuaded, as well from your Highneſs's laſt letter, as from your virtue and good ſenſe, that you have too great a regard for your faith and honour, to darken the luſtre of ſo fair a life, by ſo foul a ſtain. This I do not fail continually to inform both his Majeſty and his Miniſters; nor do I doubt, but if fortune ſhall be wanting to the juſtice of your arms, ſo far as that your Highneſs ſhall be in danger of being brought to the laſt extremities, you will at leaſt have that regard to ſo ſacred a league, and to the honour of ſo great a King, as to give his Majeſty timely notice; declare the invincible neceſſities you lay under, and deſire permiſſion to enter upon new counſels. As

Marchionem de Caſtel Rodrigo eandem imbibiſſe planè opinionem et ſentio et doleo: quippe ejuſmodi eventum et C. V. vitio verti neceſſe eſt, et Regi Domino meo, imprudentiæ forſan, aut ſaltem infœlicitati. Nec Hiſpanos uſque adeo jam temporis generoſos æſtimo, ut provehendo fœderi (quod jam arctiùs aſtrictum iri ſperamus nuperrimâ Comitis de Sandwich in Hiſpaniam legatione) fortiùs impellant remos ſi Regem Dominum meum inter tantos hoſtes ab intimo fœderato deſertum iri, ſibi vel falſo perſuaſerint.

Ego interea tam ex poſtremis literis, quàm ex ingenti C. V. indole et genio, moribus etiam et ſtudiis, mihi è contra procul omni aleâ perſuaſum habeo, eam virtuti, fidei, et gloriæ nimis fœliciter litâſſe, quam ut tot decora tam inſignis vitæ tantâ labe infuſcari ullo modo patiatur. Hoc ſacræ ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati, hoc Miniſtris regiis inculcare non deſino; nec ullus dubito, ſi tam juſtis armis fortuna in tantum defuerit, ut inter tot hoſtes C. V. in extremis ſe laboraturam præſentiat; quin hoc ſaltem tanto fœderi, hoc tanti Regis nomini et auſpiciis tribuendum judicet, ut ſacram ſuam majeſtatem non inconſultam velit, neceſſitates inſuperabiles exponat, veniamque domum impetret novis et alienis conſiliis ineundis.

As for us, I am sure your Highness is sufficiently convinced of his Majesty's care in performing his part, and how happily he has overcome the greatest difficulties and straits, wherein, by occasion of the late pestilence, his revenues have been involved. About ten days ago, I gave Monsieur Rhintorf letters of exchange for 77,000 dollars: he is a diligent person, a friend to the common league, and of equal probity and industry. I have given him also other letters, wherein a very rich merchant of Amsterdam has undertaken to transmit 30,000 dollars more to me with all convenient speed. I have also orders from his Majesty, to advance money for your Highness, upon a great quantity of tin, lately recovered from shipwreck at Ostend: and his Majesty hath farther given me in charge to let your Highness know, that whatever remains should be paid without fail.

All this matter was finished before Mr. Sherwood's departure for England, whom I have however instructed with the best counsel I could, as well as with letters of recommendation to the Chief Ministers; though I am certain his Majesty's justice and truth will

Quod ad partes nostras attinet, satis confido C. V. abunde exploratum habere quanto studio et opere sacra sua Regia Majestas explendis ad amussim singulis invigilaverit, quantâque demum fœlicitate angustias et difficultates summas eluctata sit, quibus per nuperam contagionem res suas præcipuè pecuniarias involutas sensit. Ego jam infra decem elapsos dies literas Cambii usque ad septuaginta septem Thalerorum millia valituras, Domino de Rhintorf ritè tradidi, viro certè impigro, animique ergo res communis fœderis propensissimi, nec minoris ut mihi videtur probitatis quàm industriæ. Eidem alias impertii literas, per quas mercator admodum opulentus Amstelodami in se provinciam recepit triginta adhuc Thalerorum millia mihi quamprimum transmittendi. Eodem tempore et magnam stanni molem Ostendæ nuper ex naufragio revulsam, augendis C. V. rationibus impendere, inter regia jussa habeo; præcipuumque à sacrâ suâ Regia Majestate mandatum, ut C. V. persuasam penitùs et securam velim, quod reliqui est sine ullâ ambage solutum iri.

Hæc omnia excussa et absoluta fuisse advertendum est ante appulsum Domini Sherwood, quem tamen in transitu saluberrimis quibus fas erat consiliis, et commendatoriis apud summos Regios Ministros literis monitum volui; etiamsi pro comperto habeam, Regis Domini mei

will be more prevalent in this matter, than the moſt importunate ſolicitations or complaints.

In the mean while I ſhall uſe my utmoſt care and diligence for the ſervice of your Highneſs; and it will be your part, not to be wanting either to his Majeſty, or your own honour and ſafety, which are all concerned in this conjuncture. I alſo beg your Highneſs not to be diſcouraged by your enemies, not to diſtruſt your old friends, nor deſpair of raiſing new ones.

Time for the better changes many things.

In the mean time, I wiſh your Highneſs health and victory, and deſire you will ever eſteem me, Sir, your Highneſs's moſt obedient humble ſervant.

mei juſtitiam inſignem et fidem inviolatam plus querimoniis omnibus vel precibus maximè importunis in hâc re valituras.

Ego interea curâ, opere, ſtudio, et diligentiâ, nec deſum nec defuturus ſum; Celſitudini autem veſtræ curæ erit ne ſacræ ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati, ne ſibimet ipſi defuerit, ne propriæ denique gloriæ nec ſaluti, quas in hoc cardine rerum verti ſatis perſpectum habere neceſſe eſt. Nec inter inſurgentes hoſtes deſpondeat oro, nec veteribus amicis ad minimum diffidat, nec deſperet de novis excitandis.

Multa dies variuſque labor mutabilis ævi
Detulit in melius.

Valeat interea C. V. et vincendo pergat; inter autem addictiſſimos ejuſque rerum ſtudioſiſſimos de jure ſemper æſtimet, C. V. obſervantiſſimum.

*To Mr. * Godolphin.*

SIR, Bruſſels, April 1, N. S. 1666.

AMONG my few debts, I could not have imagined myſelf likely to have any in Spain, till my late intelligence from England, and obſervation of the winds, perſuaded me to it, as my good conſcience does, to endeavour at the ſatisfaction of them before it be called for. After I have welcomed you into the climate with the ſame chear and kindneſs

[a] Afterwards Sir William Godolphin.

the ſun I know will do, you muſt receive my acknowledgment of two letters I had from you before you left Engliſh ground: but, withal, ſome reproach that you could mingle the expreſſions of your kindneſs with that idle buſineſs of accompts, in which you are too juſt, as thoſe you had to deal with for my [a] patent fees were, I think, too merciful, at leaſt, much more ſo than I expected. Your Letter from Sheen was more obliging, in making me believe you met any thing, in that corner, you could be entertained or pleaſed with; but, if it were ſo, I fear you had your revenge: for my wife tells me, to my face, in her letter upon that occaſion, that ſhe ſhall love you whilſt ſhe lives for the kindneſs of that viſit. What effect this might have upon an abſent man in Spaniſh air, I know not; but, from this more temperate climate, I will aſſure you, that I am content to ſhare with you the kindneſs of my beſt friends, which is all the quarrel I will raiſe at this diſtance, upon this occaſion.

The laſt courier from Spain renewed our mourning at this Court, for the news of [b] Sir R. F. and Sir R. S's arrival at Madrid, without ſucceſs in the Portugal truce; which, being the hinge of all affairs at this time in Chriſtendom, is (I hope) reſerved for your more happy and more dexterous management. I find it agreed from France, with other parts, that nothing will have good iſſue in Portugal without the ſtyle of King; and methinks the Spaniards height ſhould rather aim at giving him King without Kingdom, than amuſe about Kingdom without King. The beſt ſwords, and guns, and treaſures, will have ever the power of reviving thoſe controverſies: in the mean time, pray endeavour to make them ſenſible, that the poſſeſſion of Flanders is worth the re-

[a] For Baronet. [b] Sir Richard Fanſhaw.

verſion

verſion of Portugal; and that they could never have ſuch a conjuncture to lay by the puntiglio as during their King's minority, who, when grown major, may avow and diſavow what he pleaſes of his mother's regency.

It is pleaſant to me to be giving you arguments; but we are ſo full of it here, as you muſt excuſe all impertinencies in this matter. In ſhort, this is a buſineſs muſt of neceſſity be done, and therefore, for God's ſake, diſpatch it: and there is an end of my wiſe counſels.

From the Marquis here you muſt look for no great aſſiſtance in this one particular; his birth and intereſt make it too tickliſh a ſtring for him to touch: in all others aſſure yourſelf I have taken a care to preſs him, and his Excellency the pains to endeavour all he can poſſibly, for preparing whatever may honour your reception, or facilitate your negotiation; and being a perſon that has run through all the buſineſs of that monarchy, and allied to almoſt all the perſons of the council, I will be confident his offices will not be uſeleſs to you, as I hope ſome of our countrymen's will that preceded them. When you farther deſire any from his Excellency here, upon the notice, I doubt not to furniſh you.

I find by him, the laſt promotion of counſellors was not made, either by the Duke of Medina's or Caſtriglio's faction or authority, but chiefly by the Queen's Confeſſor, and on purpoſe to ſtrengthen a party dependent wholly upon her Majeſty.

The Duke of Albuquerque you will find a man of more warmth than depth, and no great leader in council or buſineſs: Montalto is a man of more head, has more of the Queen's ear, and runs the fortune of growing one day into the greateſt miniſtry: he is at preſent embroiled with the Duke of Medina; but if my Lord Sandwich would reconcile thoſe two ſtrings,

and

and tune them together, he would find it eaſy to concert his own muſic there.

D'Ayala is Herb John, Aitona conſidered; and upon his march, which he may ſucceed well in, if he contents himſelf to make it by ſlow and even ſteps. Pignoranda would make a third party, is learned and called wiſe, but wants birth and vigour to ſupport more greatneſs than he has. The Confeſſor is *honneſte homme*, has lived, till now, retired from buſineſs, but made a great leap into it on the ſudden. Caſtriglio and Caracena are ſo far known, as I need ſay nothing of what you are to hope or fear from them in your negotiation. Pray, preſent my humble ſervice to my Lord Ambaſſador, and give him this little light, if you think it is worth it. The Frenchmen's looks towards us are fair, but I doubt their meaning; at the ſame time they offer at accommodation, they write into Holland, preſſing, all that is poſſible, the States agreement with Munſter, that their forces may be all free to fall upon England, and encourage the ſpeedy ſetting out of their fleet, with aſſurance of their own being ready to join. They muſtered fifteen thouſand men, but ten days hence, near this frontier in great bravery, where King, Queen, and all the Court appeared. The French King reſolves to march about the firſt of May, in the head of them, towards Sedan, upon pretence to force the Duke of Lorrain to diſarm, or, at leaſt, to know the cauſe of this preſent arming. In the mean time, the Hugonots of Pictou have put in three requeſts to the King, demanding liberty of their churches, according to the edicts of Nantes, and mingling ſome ſtrains very bold, with others very humble.

The Prince of Munſter hath Envoys from ſix of his neighbouring Princes now with him, treating about the peace and ſecurity of the Weſtphalian circle, and

an

an accommodation with Holland; all which gives jealouſy of his honour and conſtancy.

The Elector of Brandenburg hath put in a memorial to the States, recommending paſſionately the intereſt of the Prince of Orange, which hath given ſome jealouſy both to Dutch and French.

The Elector of Cologn hath ſent an Envoy to the Hague, who is there arrived, to demand the reſtitution of Rhinberg.

The Prince of Orange's ſiſter's marriage is concluded with the Duke of Simmeren; for the conſummation of it, the Princeſs Dowager and Prince of Orange intend ſuddenly for Cleve. Captain Bennet and Sir John Sayers, with ſeveral others, are arrived at Oſtend in the King's yacht for Mademoiſelle Bevarwaert's tranſportation. The Captain of the veſſel approaching the town, and pretending to take a ſhip belonging to that port, and entering there for a Hollander, purſued and fired at her, till a gunner from the caſtle, not knowing what veſſel ours was, gave her one gun, but ſo unluckily, that it ſtruck through the cabin, killed the gunner, and ſhot off the Captain's leg. I have ſent letters from the Marquis to the Governor at Oſtend, to make all excuſes and reparations. I have juſt now diſpatched an expreſs to the Hague, to deſire Mademoiſelle Bevarwaert's command where and when I ſhall attend her paſſage, which my Lord Arlington hath adviſed to make by Antwerp, and to leave all her money there in my hands, which, with a hundred and fifty thouſand dollars I ſhall meet there about the ſame time for Munſter, will make me ſo rich, that I think I had beſt take the good time, and run away to you into Spain; but I ſhall never reckon upon your protection longer than I have ſome honeſty mingled with my kindneſs for you; and, while I have the leaſt of one, you may reckon upon the moſt of the other that can be from,

Sir,

Sir, your most affectionate friend, and most faithful servant.

To the Bishop of Munster.

Brussels, April 27, N. S. 1666.

SIR,

THE care your Highness was pleased to express for the safety of my journey, makes me believe you will be pleased to hear how soon and happily I arrived at Brussels, after many difficulties.

By a letter yesterday I recommended to his Majesty the affairs of your Highness, as I promised to do, and hope my care will not be in vain: but, since I left Munster, I am informed that Monsieur Colbert the French Minister would arrive in a little time to buy the troops that your Highness designs to dismiss, and to put them into the French service. Now I cannot but inform your Highness, how unjust, how false, and how ungrateful it will appear, for those troops, that were raised and armed by the King my master's money, to enter into the service of a foreign Prince, now at open enmity with us, by which means they become rebels rather than enemies. And indeed I find all the Ministers of Munster are extremely averse from this counsel.

For

Episcopo Monasterii.

Bruxellis, Aprilis 27, *S. N. Celsissime Domine,* 1666.

SUMMA ista solicitudo et benevolentia quas C. V. in securitate itineri meo præstandâ demonstravit, me persuasum habent, non ingratum fore si eam certiorem velim quàm brevi et feliciter, inter multa incommoda et difficultates, Bruxellas appulerim.

Ego jam per hesternas literas operam et studium meum impendi istis officiis C. V. erga sacram suam Regiam Majestatem exsolvendis, quæ pollicitus sum, nec vana fore confido. Accepi autem ex quo Monasterio discessi, Dominum Colbert ministrum Gallicum brevi appulsurum ad mercandas copias quas dimissura est C. V. easque in stipendia Regis Gallici attrahendas. Non possum C. V. celare quàm iniquum, infidum, et ingratum videbitur, copias pecuniâ Regis domini mei conflatas et instructas, in partes et stipendia transire Regis alieni, jamque palam nobis inimici, et contra nos armati; nec isto modo dici potest, ut novum bellum, sed genus quoddam rebellionis, instituant; à quo consilio ego omnes, quos conveni, Monasterii officiales expertus sum admodum alienos.

Cùm

For ſince his Excellency the Marquis of Caſtel Rodrigo deſigns to draw into the Spaniſh ſervice all who are ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty, with two or three regiments beſides; and for that end deſigns to ſend Monſieur D—— to Munſter; I think it more for the honour and advantage of the King my maſter, that theſe forces be placed in the ſervice of a Prince who has been long our friend and confederate; and therefore I deſire your Highneſs to give a hand to this negotiation, which I promiſe ſhall be neither unknown nor unwelcome to the King my maſter. I am, Sir, your Highneſs's, &c.

Cùm autem Excellentia ſua Dominus Marchio de Caſtel Rodrigo in votis habeat ſubditos omnes Catholicæ Majeſtatis in ſua ſtipendia retrahere, duaſque inſuper vel tres alteras legiones; et in hunc finem ſtatuerit Dominum D—— Monaſterium uſque ablegare; ego multo magis et honori et utilitati Regis domini mei conducturum æſtimo, ſi copiæ iſtæ in auſpicia et ſtipendia Regis nobis jam temporis confœderati et amiciſſimi tranſeant. Ideoque ſupplico C. V. ut huic negotiationi facilitandæ (quicquid in ſe erit) utraſque manus præbeat, idque officium Regi domino meo nec ignotum nec ingratum fore ſpondeo. C. V. &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, Bruſſels, May 10, N. S. 1666.

AFter ſo long and ſo hard a journey, I thought you would be glad to know I was well again in my former ſtation, and what was the occaſion of my leaving it ſo ſuddenly and ſo privately, that I could not acquaint any of my friends with it before I went, which now I am at liberty to entertain you with.

This winter has paſſed with much noiſe, made by the Biſhop of Munſter in his enterpriſe againſt Holland, with ſome attempts, but little ſucceſs. The fault he has laid in ſome degree upon the Marquis here, for refuſing to ſuffer the Duke of Bornoville to go and command his troops, which he durſt not conſent to, for fear of giving too much offence to the French and Dutch, at a time when the Spaniards here are in ill condition for a quarrel: but the Biſhop's

ſhop's chief complaints have been, want of thoſe ſums of money ſtipulated by his Majeſty to be furniſhed him both before and after his taking the field. Our excuſes upon the loſs of the ſhips with tin before Oſtend, though they may ſerve to keep us in countenance, yet they will not pay forces in the field, which he has often threatened theſe three months paſt muſt break up, without ſpeedy ſupplies. In the mean time his neighbouring Princes of the Empire, eſpecially the Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, with the Duke of Nieuburg, ſeeing a flame broke out, which muſt draw foreign armies into the Empire, both French and Dutch, have uſed firſt all offices they could to prevail with the Biſhop to make his peace with Holland, engaged the Emperor himſelf in the ſame endeavours, and, finding him ſteady to his treaty with the King, at laſt the Duke of Brandenburg drew his forces into the field, reſolved to compel him by joining with the Dutch, if he could not perſuade him to make the peace; and the Duke of Nieuburg prepared to ſecond him in this deſign. The French were not wanting in their offices to the ſame ends; ſo that a private agreement was made about the beginning of this month, for the French, Dutch, and Munſter Envoys to meet at Cleve, and there treat the peace, under the mediation of the Elector of Brandenburg.

As ſoon as the King received this alarm, he ſent an expreſs immediately to command me away the inſtant I received it, with a commiſſion to the Biſhop of Munſter, and with inſtructions to do all I could poſſibly to hinder the peace, and with bills of exchange to revive his payments, which had been long intermitted, and promiſe of more to be remitted every poſt, which I was to order into his agent's hands here, in my abſence.

I went

I went accordingly, acquainting none with my going but the Marquis here, who gave me twenty of his own guards, with command to follow abſolutely all orders I ſhould give them. I was to paſs through a great deal of the Spaniſh country, much infeſted with Dutch parties, more of the Duke of Nieuburg's, and more yet of the Brandenburgers, who I know were all enemies to the affair I went upon, and therefore thought it beſt to paſs for a Spaniſh Envoy, ſent from the Marquis Caſtel Rodrigo to the Emperor, and charged my ſmall guard, and the Cornet that commanded them, to keep true to this note. And ſome of my ſervants, as well as moſt of the guards, ſpeaking Spaniſh, I ſpoke nothing elſe, unleſs in private, or when I was forced out of it by ſome incident.

In this guiſe I came to Duſſeldorp, where the Duke of Nieuburg happened to be (contrary to what I had been informed): as ſoon as I was in my inn, one of his officers came to know who I was, and whither I was going; and would not be ſatisfied by the common anſwer from my ſervants and guards, but would receive it from me: when he came up, though with much civility, yet he preſſed me ſo far, that I found there was no feigning with him, and ſo bid him tell the Duke, that within an hour I would come and give him an account both of myſelf and my journey. I remembered the great kindneſs that had ever interceded between his Majeſty and this Prince; and, though I went upon an errand that I knew was diſagreeable to him, yet I thought he would be leſs likely to croſs me, if I acquainted him frankly with it, than if I diſguiſed ſcurvily, as I was likely to do, being the thing of the world I could do the moſt uneaſily.

I had a letter of credence which I brought out of England at my firſt coming over for this Prince; but,

but, passing another way to Munster, I had not used it, and so resolved to do it now. I did so, gave it him, told him my errand; how much his Majesty reckoned upon his friendship, and desired his good offices to the Bishop of Munster in the design I went upon, of keeping him firm to his treaties with the King my master.

This Duke is, in my opinion, the finest Gentleman of any German I have seen, and deserves much better fortune than he is in; being small, very much broken, and charged with a very numerous issue; he seems about fifty years old, tall, lean, very good mien, but more like an Italian than a German: all he says is civil, well-bred, *honneste*, plain, easy, and has an air of truth and honour. He made great professions of kindness and respect to the King, was sorry he could not serve him in this affair; his engagements were already taken with the Emperor and his neighbouring Princes for making the Munster peace, and by that means keeping war out of the Empire. He doubted I could not serve his Majesty upon this errand neither; for he first believed I could not get safe to Munster, the ways being all full of Dutch and Brandenburg parties, who had notice of the King's intention to send away to the Bishop upon this occasion; and, if I should arrive, he believed, however, I should find the peace signed before I came.

My answer was short, for I was very weary, that go I would, however I succeeded; that, for the danger of the journey, I knew no providing against it, but a very good guide who might lead me through ways the most unfrequented; that I would desire his Highness to give me one of his own guards to conduct me, because no one would expect a person going upon my design, would have one of his livery for a guide; and I desired he would let me pass, as I had done hitherto in my journey, for a Spanish Envoy.

The

The Duke after ſome difficulties at firſt (which we turned into pleaſantries) complied with me in all: I took my leave, and went away early next morning.

I never travelled a more ſavage country, over cruel hills, through many great and thick woods, ſtony and rapid ſtreams, never hardly in any highway, and very few villages, till I came near Dortmund, a city of the Empire, and within a day's journey, or ſomething more, of Munſter. The night I came to Dortmund was ſo advanced when I arrived, that the gates were ſhut, and with all our eloquence, which was as moving as we could, we were not able to prevail to have them opened; they adviſed us to go to a village about a league diſtant, where they ſaid we might have lodging. When we came there, we found it all taken up with a troop of Brandenburg horſe, ſo as the poor Spaniſh Envoy was fain to eat what he could get in a barn, and to ſleep upon a heap of ſtraw, and lay my head upon my page inſtead of a pillow. The beſt of it was, that he, underſtanding Dutch, heard one of the Brandenburg ſoldiers coming into the barn, to examine ſome of my guards about me and my journey, which, when he was ſatisfied of, he aſked if he had heard nothing upon the way of an Engliſh Envoy that was expected; the fellow ſaid, he was upon the way, and might be at Dortmund within a day or two, with which he was ſatisfied, and I ſlept as well as I could.

The next morning I went into Dortmund, and, hearing there that, for five or ſix leagues round, all was full of Brandenburg troops, I diſpatched away a German Gentleman I had in my train, with a letter to the Biſhop of Munſter, to let him know the place and condition I was in, and deſire he would ſend me guards immediately, and ſtrong enough to convey me. The night following my meſſenger returned, and brought me word, that, by eight o'clock the

morning after, a Commander of the Biſhop's would come in ſight of the town, at the head of twelve hundred horſe, and deſired I would come and join them ſo ſoon as they appeared. I did ſo, and, after an early march till four o'clock, I came to a caſtle of the Biſhop's, where I was received by Lieutenant-General Gorgas, a Scotſman in that ſervice, who omitted nothing of honour or entertainment that could be given me. There was nothing here remarkable, but the moſt Epiſcopal way of drinking that could be invented. As ſoon as we came in the great hall, there ſtood many flaggons ready charged, the General called for wine to drink the King's health; they brought him a formal bell of ſilver gilt, that might hold about two quarts or more; he took it empty, pulled out the clapper, and gave it me, who he intended to drink to, then had the bell filled, drank it off to his Majeſty's health, then aſked me for the clapper, put it in, turned down the bell, and rung it out, to ſhew he had played fair, and left nothing in it; took out the clapper, deſired me to give it to whom I pleaſed, then gave his bell to be filled again, and brought it to me. I that never uſed to drink, and ſeldom would try, had commonly ſome Gentlemen with me that ſerved for that purpoſe when it was neceſſary; and ſo I had the entertainment of ſeeing his health go current through about a dozen hands, with no more ſhare in it than juſt what I pleaſed.

The next day after noon, about a league from Munſter, the Biſhop met me at the head of four thouſand horſe, and in appearance brave troops. Before his coach, that drove very faſt, came a guard of a hundred Hey Dukes that he had brought from the laſt campaign in Hungary; they were in ſh rt coats and caps all of a brown colour, every man carrying a ſabre by his ſide, a ſhort pole-ax b.fore him, and a

ſkrew-

ſkrewed gun hanging at his back by a leather belt that went croſs his ſhoulder. In this poſture they run almoſt full ſpeed, and in excellent order, and were ſaid to ſhoot two hundred yards with their ſkrewed gun, and a bullet of the bigneſs of a large pea, into the breadth of a dollar or crown-piece. When the coach came within forty yards of me it ſtopped, I ſaw the Biſhop and his General the Prince d'Homberg come out; upon which I alighted, ſo as to meet him between my horſes and his coach: after compliments, he would have me go into his coach, and ſit alone at the back end, reſerving the other to himſelf and his General. I excuſed it, ſaying, I came without character; but he replied, that his agent had writ him word I brought a commiſſion, which ſtyled me *Oratorem noſtrum* (as was true) and that he knew what was due to that ſtyle from a great King. I never was nice in taking any honour that was offered to the King's character, and ſo eaſily took this: but from it, and a reception ſo extraordinary, began immediately to make an ill preſage of my buſineſs, and to think of the Spaniſh proverb,

Quien te haſe mas corte que no ſuele hazer
Ote ha d'enganner ote ha meneſter.

And with theſe thoughts, and in this poſture, I entered Munſter, and was conducted by the Biſhop to a lodging prepared for me in one of the Canons houſes.

The Biſhop would have left me immediately after he brought me to my chamber; but I told him I could not let him go without aſking an hour of audience that very evening. He would have excuſed it upon reſpect and wearineſs, and much compliment; but I perſiſted in it, unleſs he would chuſe to ſit down where we were, and enter upon affairs without ceremony. He was at laſt contented; and I ſaid all I could towards my end of keeping him to the

faith of his treaty with the King, to the purſuit of the war, till both conſented to the peace, and to the expectations of the money that was due. He anſwered me, with the neceſſities that had forced him to treat, from the failing of his payments, the violences of his neighbour Princes, and the laſt inſtances of the Emperor; but that he would, upon my coming, diſpatch one immediately to Cleve, to command his Miniſters to make a ſtop in their treaty till they received farther orders, which I ſhould be maſter of.

I went to ſupper after he left me, but was told enough privately to ſpoil it before I ſat down, which was, that the treaty was ſigned at Cleve; though I took no notice of it, becauſe I knew, if it were ſo, being angry would hurt no body but my maſter or myſelf.

Next day the Biſhop made a mighty feaſt among all his chief Officers, where we ſat for four hours, and in bravery I drank fair like all the reſt; and obſerved that my Spaniſh Cornet, and I that never uſed it, yet came off in better order than any of the company. I was very ſick after I came to my lodging; but he got on horſeback on purpoſe to ſhew himſelf about the town, while the reſt of the company were out of ſight all the afternoon. The day after was agreed to give me an account of the affair of Cleve; upon the return of the Biſhop's expreſs after my arrival, and at an audience in the evening, with great pretence of trouble and grief, he confeſſed the treaty was ſigned, and ſo paſt remedy, and that it had been ſo before his expreſs arrived, though much againſt his expectation, as he profeſſed; I am ſure it was not againſt mine, for I left Bruſſels in the belief that I ſhould certainly find all concluded, which made my journey much harder than it could have been with any hopes of ſucceeding.

I told

I told him, when I found all ended, and no hopes of retrieving it, that I would be gone within a day or two, and would take my leave of him that night, being not well, and needing ſome reſt before I began my journey. He ſaid and did all that could be to perſuade my ſtay till I had repreſented his reaſons to the King, and received an anſwer: and I found his deſign was to keep me as long as he could, while his agent at Bruſſels received bills of exchange from England that were ordered him in my abſence; ſo that I knew not how much every day's ſtay would coſt the King, and that no other ſervice was to be done his Majeſty in this affair, beſides ſaving as much of his money as I could. The Biſhop, finding me immoveable, adviſed me however in pretended kindneſs to go by Cologn, which, though four or five days about, would be the only way that was left for me with any ſafety, the Dutch and Brandenburgers having poſted themſelves on purpoſe to attend my return upon all the other roads; and he offered me Colonel Offory, an Iriſh Gentleman in his ſervice, to conduct me: I ſeemed to accept all, and to be obliged by his care, but wiſhed myſelf well out of it, and took my leave, though he pretended to ſee me again next day.

I went home, and inſtead of going to bed, as I gave out, I laid my journey ſo as to be on horſeback next morning between three and four o'clock upon Good-Friday, which I thought might help me to make my journey leſs ſuſpected: I fee'd the officer that opened the gates for me, to keep them ſhut two hours longer than uſual that morning (which I hear was performed) and ſo committed myſelf to the conduct of the Duke of Nieuburg's guide, to lead me the ſhorteſt way he could into ſome place belonging to his maſter. I rode hard, and without any ſtop, to a village eight leagues from Munſter, and juſt

upon the borders of the Brandenburg country: there I baited, and pretended to go to bed and ſtay all night; but in an hour's time, having got freſh horſes ready for four men that I pretended to ſend before me, I put on a caſſaque of one of the Marquis's guards, and with my page, the Duke of Nieuburg's guard, and Colonel Majette, a Flemiſh officer in the Munſter ſervice, I took horſe at the back door of my inn, while the reſt of my company thought me a-bed, and reſolved to ride as far as I could the reſt of that day, leaving my ſteward to follow me the next, with the reſt of my train and guards.

I rode till eight at night through the wildeſt country and moſt unfrequented ways that ever I ſaw, but being then quite ſpent, and ready to fall from my horſe, I was forced to ſtop and lay me down upon the ground till my guard went to a peaſant's houſe in ſight, to find if there were any lodging for me; he brought me word there was none, nor any proviſions in the houſe, nor could find any thing but a little bottle of juniper-water, which is the common cordial in that country: I drank a good deal, and with it found my ſpirits ſo revived, that I reſolved to venture upon the three leagues that remained of my journey, ſo as to get into the territories of Nieuburg, having paſſed all the way ſince I left my train through thoſe of Brandenburg, whoſe engagements with the Dutch left me no ſafety while I was there. About midnight I came to my lodging, which was ſo miſerable that I lay upon ſtraw, got on horſeback by break of day, and to Duſſeldorp by noon; where being able to ride no farther I went to bed for an hour, ſent to make my excuſes to the Duke of Nieuburg upon my haſte and wearineſs, and to borrow his coach to carry me to Ruremond, which was a long day's journey. This Prince ſent me his coach, and his compliments, with all the civility

in

in the world. I went away that afternoon, got to Ruremond the next, and from thence hither, not without great danger of the Dutch parties, even in the Spanish country; and so have ended the hardest journey that ever I made in my life, or ever shall; for such another I do not think I could ever bear, with a body no stronger than mine.

At my return I have had the fortune to stop several bills of exchange that would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the Bishop's agent here, and to forbid the payment of the rest he received in my absence, which, though accepted by the merchants at Antwerp, yet were not satisfied, the time having not expired at which they were payable. And this service to the King is all the satisfaction I have by this adventure, which has ended the whole affair of Munster that has of late made so much noise, and raised so much expectation in the world. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Brussels, May 14, N. S. 1666.

THough my late Munster journey has given your Grace some ease by my intermissions, and me many troubles; yet I met none of which I was more sensible, than what I received at my return by the news of your Grace's indisposition. But I comforted myself first, that your health is too considerable to fall, though it may suffer, under common accidents; and since, with the certainty given me of its recovery: in which I give your Grace, what I receive by it myself, as much joy, I am sure, as if I felt never so great an addition to my own; since mankind is esteemed so great a self-lover, that these are the highest expressions will be allowed us.

I have desired my Lord Arlington to give your

Grace, in my own letters to his Lordſhip, the account of my whole tranſaction, which I take no great pleaſure in repeating, and ſhould very difficultly at once give relations ſo particularly, as what I made whilſt the objects, their diſpoſitions, and motions, were in my eye. The length of them may make them too much trouble to your Grace, of which my father or brother, I know, would be glad to eaſe you, and give the minute of a draught at large.

I ſo concerted with the Biſhop whilſt I was there, and with the Marquis here at my return, that we expect here between five or ſix thouſand of his beſt troops, upon his Excellency's paying fifty thouſand pattacons, and obliging himſelf to reſtore them upon repayment of the like ſum whenever the Biſhop ſhall have need of them; which is a better diſpoſal of forces raiſed by his Majeſty's money, than if they had been drawn over into the French ſervice, according to their proſpect, and Monſieur Colbert's endeavour, who was ſent to Munſter on purpoſe to marchand them. Whether the Duke of Nieuburg, who ſeems wholly French, will make any difficulty in giving them paſſage thro' his country, I know not; nor whether the light be true which was lately given me of a war like to ſucceed in thoſe parts between the Duke and the Marquis of Brandenburg, which would in this conjuncture mingle the cards after the ſtrangeſt manner imaginable.

Though we hear much of our fleet's being at ſea, yet we talk more here of the Dutch ſlowneſs, who have not yet men for above fifty ſhips, and thoſe ſo diſheartened and cold in the ſervice, that I fear nothing, but their eluding our great preparations by keeping cloſe in their harbours, till for want of victuals we may be forced to return to ours.

My Lord Carlingford is now at Prague, uncertain upon his late letters from Court, whether he advances

this

this way, or returns to the Emperor, whither he hath diſpatched his ſon, and where we have ſome ground of complaint, ſeeing the Emperor's name among all the other Princes in the guaranty of the Munſter peace. The endeavour of that Court had been much better employed in compaſſing the peace with Portugal, which hangs yet in great uncertainties, not to ſay difficulties: neither of which there is the leaſt of in my being, with moſt hearty and unfeigned paſſion, My Lord, yours, &c.

To my Lord Liſle.

My Lord, Bruſſels, Aug.—N. S. 1666.

I Received lately the honour of one from your Lordſhip, and by it the ſatisfaction of finding your health and good humour continue, as well as my ſhare in your favour and memory, which I am much concerned in. I aſſure your Lordſhip, in the midſt of a town and employment entertaining enough, and a life not uneaſy, my imaginations run very often over the pleaſures of the air, and the earth, and the water, but much more of the converſation, at Sheen; and make me believe, that, if my life wears not out too ſoon, I may end it in a corner there, though your Lordſhip will leave it, I know, in time for ſome of thoſe greater and nobler houſes that attend you. I am obliged by the very pleaſing relations you give from thoſe ſofter ſcenes, in return of which, ſuch as I can make you from thoſe of buſineſs, or war, or tumult, muſt, I know, yield rougher entertainment; and therefore I have ſent them in a paper, which ſhall paſs rather for a Gazette than a letter; and ſhall content myſelf only to tell your Lordſhip, that it is hardly to be imagined the change which about three weeks paſt have made in the face of Holland's affairs, which are now eſteemed here to be upon the point of breaking into much

much ſuch a confuſion as we ſaw in England about 1659: nor can any thing almoſt be added in theſe parts to the reputation of his Majeſty's arms and affairs; ſo far, that it grows a credit to be an Engliſhman; and not only here, but in Amſterdam itſelf. I am told my Lord Stafford, who went lately thither about a proceſs, has more hats and legs than the Burgomaſter of the town. I will not increaſe your Lordſhip's trouble by any enlarging upon this ſubject, having offered you a much longer in the incloſed. I wiſh I could give you ſome of another kind, by ſending you a little Spaniſh Miſtreſs from hence, whoſe eyes might ſpoil your walks, and burn up all the green meadows at Sheen, and find other ways of deſtroying that repoſe your Lordſhip pretends alone to enjoy, in ſpite of the common fate of mankind. But, however your friends ſuffer by it, I wiſh it may laſt as long as it pleaſes you; I am ſure the profeſſions will do ſo of my being, My Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, Aug.—N. S. 1666.

I Am not to be forgiven, that endeavour by one trouble to make room for another, and ſolicit your Lordſhip this way, that my wife may have leave to ſolicit you in a matter wherein I can never reſolve to do it myſelf. Your Lordſhip's friendſhip has left me little to deſire or complain of, unleſs it be when I find my own fortune ſo diſproportioned to my mind, in the reſolutions I have of doing his Majeſty all the honour, as well as all the ſervice I can: but how ill they agree in this point (though I was ever rich while I was private, even beyond my deſires) is a ſtory I would rather any body ſhould tell you than I: however, I ſhould not bring my wife into this ſcene, but that

that I know she will ask nothing but my own, is a person not apt to be troublesome or importunate, and in all kinds the best part of, My Lord, yours, &c.

Patri Gottenburg.

Domine, Bruxellis, Dec. 26, N. S. 1666,

RECTE et per manus dulcissimæ tuæ sororis accepi chirothecas elegantissimè consutas, et non minus politè contextas literas; per quas nec me elapsum memoriâ vestrâ, nec planè exutum benevolentiâ, et sentio et gaudeo. Utroque nomine me pulcherrimæ istæ indoli per totam vestram familiam diffusæ, potiùs quam ulli meo merito, obligatum æstimo: habeo itaque et ago gratias quamplurimas; ut vero acceptiori quodam modo eas referre studeam, sororem optimam exoravi, quæ me (ut spero) officio et debito perfunctum brevi redditura est. Valeat interim reverentia vestra, studiis propositis auspicatissimè incumbat, et ex votis procedat, meque semper teneat amicissimum, &c.

To Mr. Thynn.

SIR, Brussels, Feb. 19, N. S. 1667.

ABOUT two days since I received the favour of yours of the 16th past, and am sorry to be put upon the defence in an encounter so much to my advantage: this had not arrived, if I could as easily have found the way of conveying my letters, as the dispositions of writing; for those I have always had about me since I knew your station and character, which I thought would help to bear me out in that attempt. The little acquaintance you are contented to own, I durst not reckon upon; because it was so much more than I deserved, and so much less than I desired; but am very glad, that may be allowed of among the obligations we have to enter upon this commerce, though we need no other than our Master's service,

vice, which may on both ſides be improved by the communication of what paſſes in our different ſcenes. I ſhall not engage in anſwering the compliments of your letter, though I ſhould have much more juſtice on my ſide; but I am very ill furniſhed with that ſort of ware: and the truth is, there is required ſo much ſkill in the right tempering, as well as the diſtribution of them, that I have always thought a man runs much hazard of loſing more than he gains by them, which has made me ever averſe, as well as incapable of the trade. It will be to more purpoſe to let you know the confidence we have here of our treaty with Spain being ſigned in all points to our ſatisfaction: but whether Portugal has or will accept their part in it, which is a truce of forty-five years, I cannot yet reſolve you; only this I am aſſured, that it is feared in the French Court, as well as hoped in ours.

The current news at Antwerp, as well as here, is of the Dutch merchant fleet from Nantes and Rochel, conſiſting of above a hundred ſail under the convoy of ſix men of war, being fallen into a ſquadron of about twenty of our frigates, and few are ſaid to have eſcaped: though this be doubted of none here, and the current letters from Zealand, as well as Oſtend, made it probable; yet I ſuſpend my confidence till the arrival of my Engliſh letters which are my Goſpel in theſe caſes. This coldneſs I know makes me loſe many pleaſures, but on the other ſide helps me to eſcape many diſappointments, which light belief in the midſt of ſo many light reports is ſubject to. The counſels or diſpoſitions of a ſubordinate government, as this is, are not worth troubling you with; but thoſe in the Court here are in ſhort what we wiſh them.

Thoſe of the ſcene you are in deſerve much more the enquiry; and I ſhould be very glad to know them from

from ſo good a hand. My deſires of ſerving you can, I am ſure, never be known from a better than my own, which can value itſelf to you by nothing elſe, but by telling I am, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant.

To the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 4, N. S. 1667.

UPON the arrival of the laſt poſt from Spain, which brought us the unwelcome news of our treaty meeting an unhappy obſtruction when it was at the very point of being perfected, Count Marſyn came to me, and after a preface of the great obligations he had to his Majeſty, and the part he took in all our intereſts, as well as thoſe of Spain, he fell into large diſcourſes of the unhappy influences any interruption in the preſent treaty would have upon the affairs of both Crowns. He inſiſted much upon the hardſhip we put upon the Spaniards, in not conſenting to leave the aſſiſtance of their enemies, which was all the advantage they expected from this treaty, inſtead of many they gave; that the great effect of it on both ſides would thereby be loſt, which was a return into mutual confidence, and at leaſt the beginnings of a ſincere friendſhip. That Spain having conſented to what terms his Majeſty thought reaſonable, and Portugal not only refuſing them, but entering at the ſame time into new dependencies upon France; he could not ſee what could oblige his Majeſty to more than offering Portugal an equal peace, and becoming the warrant of it. That, at his Majeſty's mediation, Spain had given them a ſtyle as uſual and as honourable as what they deſired; and, if they could reſolve to give them that of King inſtead of Crown, they had then no need or uſe of his Majeſty's mediation.

That,

That, whether we thought it our intereſt to have a peace or war in Chriſtendom, we muſt begin by adjuſting the buſineſs of Portugal; for, if we deſired the firſt, nothing could ſo much awe the French into quiet diſpoſitions as that peace, and ours with Holland, to which that would likewiſe be an ingredient. If the latter, and we had a mind rather to be ſeconds in a war of Spain with France, than principals in any, (which he thought was our true intereſt) nothing could make way for it, or enable Spain either to begin or ſuſtain a war with France, but a peace with Portugal.

That, he was confident, his Majeſty's conſenting to abandon them, in caſe they refuſed to be included in our treaty, would force them immediately to accept it; that if not, and his Majeſty ſhould hereafter find it his intereſt to ſupport them upon any great ſucceſſes of Spain on that ſide, it would be eaſy to do it by connivance, by voluntary troops of his own ſubjects, or by a third hand, provided it went no farther than to keep Spain in the temper of yielding to the peace upon the terms his Majeſty ſhall have judged reaſonable: but for the preſent, without his Majeſty's condeſcenſion to Spain in this point, he did not ſee how he could hope to effect our treaty, or to receive any fruits of it, where new occaſions of diffidence and diſtaſte would every day ariſe.

Theſe were the chief of Count Marſyn's diſcourſes, which he ended in deſiring me that I would repreſent them to his Majeſty's chief Miniſters, and particularly to your Lordſhip from him, as the beſt preſent teſtimony he could give of his zeal to his Majeſty's ſervice and affairs, and which he would have done himſelf, but for fear it might look like intruding into matters and counſels he was not called to.

Beſides this ſingle point upon which this ſtop of our treaty is wholly grounded, I could not but repre-

ſent

sent to your Lordship some other circumstances which I imagine may have fallen in and helped to occasion it. I hear France has declared positively to the Spaniard, that they will immediately begin the war upon the Spaniard's signing the treaty with us, and concluding the truce or peace with Portugal upon our mediation. To this end, and to shew the Spaniards they are in earnest, they busy themselves in making new levies, and drawing down many troops upon these frontiers, as well as all sorts of provisions, either for sieges or a camp. Upon this, I know not whether the Spanish councils may be so faint as not to dare give the French any pretence of a quarrel, but preserve their quiet rather by shrinking, than making a bold peace: or whether being composed of men that hardly ever looked out of Spain, or consider any thing but that continent, they may not, upon foresight of war, either continuing with Portugal, or beginning in Flanders, rather chuse the first, where, being invaders, they may give themselves what breath they please, employ their own natives in the charges of honour and gain, and keep all the money spent in the war still within their country; whereas whatever comes into Flanders never returns, and is swallowed up by so many foreign troops, as the levies for that service must needs draw together. There may yet another and more prudent consideration arise with these, which may for the present delay the conclusion of our treaty; and that is, a desire to sign it rather before the winter than in the spring, and by that means both gain this summer to finish the fortification of their frontiers here, and the next winter to put their army in a better posture than they now are, or, I doubt, will suddenly be for the beginning of a campaign; and, if this counsel should be taken by concert with us, that no breach of confidence may grow between us by these delays, but the French only

ly flattered by vain hopes of breaking our treaty, and thereby induced to let the Spaniard grow a year older in their peace with them, and ſlacken the war of Portugal into as low expence, and as little action or hazard, as they can: I know nothing can be ſaid againſt it, and ſhould be apt to believe it, were the counſels there in the breaſt of any one perſon by laſt reſort; whereas the divided intereſts and paſſions of the Counſellors cannot well ſuffer them to fall into ſuch a reſolution with hope of conſent and ſecret among them all.

This reflection puts me upon another I hear from private hands, which may poſſibly have made ſome change in the courſe of our treaty; which is, that the whole management of affairs in the council of Spain ſeems at preſent to be devolved into the hands of Count Caſtriglio; the Confeſſor leaving it to him, and reſerving to himſelf thoſe things only which depend immediately upon the will of the Queen, and propoſing to himſelf, during his miniſtry, (which cannot be long in regard of Caſtriglio's great age) to make way for his own, by growing older and practiſed in affairs, as well as the knowledge, obligations, and dependencies of perſons. Now our treaty having never paſſed through Caſtriglio's hands, but conducted by Sir Richard Fanſhaw wholly through the Duke of Medina's (his declared enemy) and ſince by my Lord Sandwich chiefly through Pignoranda's, who is a third party; it is not improbable that a new hand may give it new form, either to add ſomething of his own, or to ſhew his authority, or perhaps to purſue his former uſual diſpoſitions, which have been bent upon the war with Portugal, conſidering no part of the monarchy but Spain and the Indies; and I doubt, in particular, not very partial to our alliance or affairs.

Upon

Upon these intimations your Lordship will infinitely better judge than I, to what to attribute the present ill posture of our affairs in Spain, and how to retrieve it. I am ever, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

To Don Estavan de Gamarra, the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague.

Brussels, Mar. 29, N. S.
My Lord, 1667.

I DO not know how to acquit myself of the obligation my Lord Stafford has engaged me in to your Excellency, in begging your favour to procure a passport from the States for my wife. Your Excellency, I am sure, will excuse the care of a mother, in providing all that lay in her power for the safety of her children, and who to ease herself in it has (methinks) considered so little to whom she was troublesome. If I had been consulted upon this occasion, I should not have suffered one, I am so nearly concerned in, to owe her safety to those who yet profess themselves enemies to the King my master; and much less to them that treat the wife of one of his Ministers like a merchant, in demanding an account of her goods; and therefore am very glad the passport did not come till she was a shipboard in one of his Majesty's yachts, trusting,

 next

A Don Estavan de Gamarra.

Brusseles, 29 di Mar.
Sennor, *S. N.* 1667.

YO no se que modo me he de rescartar del obligo en que el Sennor Conde de Stafford me ha empennado a V. E. pidiendo su favor, en procurar una passaporte de los Estados de Hollanda para mi mujer. V. E. ha de perdonar el recato de una sennora que tenia gana de proveyer todo lo que era possible a la seguridad de sus ninvios, y para descansarse en este cuidado no se le dava nada (mi pareçe) a qui en cargava trebajo ni importunidad. Si yo huviera sido de lajunta en esta occasion, no huviera permitido que una persona que me tocava tan, cerca pidiesse su seguridad de los que hazen hasta aora profession de enimigos al Rey mi Sennor; y mucho menos de los que havian de trattar a la mujer de un Ministro como a mercadera, mandando la cuenta de su bagaje; y por esto me huelgo mucho de que no ha venido el passaporte antes que se hay a embarcado la Sennora en un yacht del Rey my Sennor, confiando se (con Dios) en el amparo solo de

 su

next to God Almighty, in the protection of his royal name. And, though I have not yet heard how her journey has succeeded, I esteem myself as much obliged to your Excellency (whatever happens) for your favourable intentions upon this occasion to a man neither known nor deserving to be so, as if you had delivered me and my family from the greatest dangers.

God Almighty preserve your Excellency many years, and give me the occasions of serving you. I am, yours, &c.

su real nombre: aunque no se hasta aora en que ha parado su viage. Todo via por lo que ay de las intenciones tan favorables de V. E. en esta occasion a un hombre ny conocido ny que merece serlo, me tengo por obligado ad mismo punto, como se me huviera rescatado a mi y mi familia, de los mayores Peligros que se pueden topar en la mar o la tierra.

Dios guarde a V. E. muchos annos, y a mi me de las occasiones de hazer las obras como la profession de lo que soy. De V. E. muy humilde servidor.

To my Lady Giffard, written in the name of Gabriel Possello.

Sennora mia, Amberes, 30 de Marco, S. N. 1667.

HE recebido con mucho gusto y no menorre conocimiento la guarnicion de spada que V. S. me ha hecha la merced de enbiarme, la qual me ha stado, mucho mas encarecida con le que me ha dicho despues el Sennor residente de la parte de V. S. que no era menester enternecer me en lagrimas ny oraciones (como estoy accostumbrado) con el sentimiento de tal obligo y que V. S. se estimara muy bien pagada con una carta Espagnola; porque a mi es tan facile de mal escrivir como a V. S. de bien hazar. Y es verdad que se tiendra por pagado con una carta? Voto a tal que no le faltara carta aunque la pidiera en Gallego. Pero digo me di veras es santa V. S. O es hechizera? porque este se abuen seguro que ha hecho milagro y con una guarnicion di plata mi ha herido hasta el coracon y aum mas fuerte que nolo pudiera hazer el mas bravo cavallero con una oja de Toledo. Pero me dira V. S. que estamos en un siglo que no es cosa mueva el hazer milagros con la plata y

que

que con eſta ſola ſe cumplen aora hazanas mayores que no con el valor y el acero en los ſiglos paſſados. Por vida mia que tient razon V. S. y por eſte milagro no lo han de cortarla la capa. Pero no ſe como ha de eſcapar quando la dire que deſpues que he tocado eſta guarnicion encantada, me van amenudo cayendo las canas, y en lugar de un viejo de ſetenta annos, me hallo moco de quinze, me ſiento calentar la ſangre en las venas, y bolverſe en triumfo el deſterrado amor para oſirſe d'eſte miſerable coracon hazer le pedacos en un punto. Deſdichado de mi que he de tocar otra vez eſtas piſados tan trabajoſas de la ciega mocedad como me baſta una vida a padecer dos martyrios. Es poſſible que yo me ſienta otra vez abraſor de las llammas amorozas, y que de ceniza tanfria ſalga de nuevo tan violento fuego. Que yo me voya otra vez resfriandomi con ſopiros, y anegandome en las lagrimas y padeciendo las penas y los afanes que no me dexaran la vida ſi no fuera para ſentir cada dia el dolor de la muerte. Ah Sennora de mi alma, quanto mal me ha hecho conhazar me tanto bien, quanto mi ha de coſtar de veras, la burla que me han hecho de ſer enamorado di V. S. en mi viyez paſſada. Pero quan facilemente ſe remedia el mas trabajoſo amor con uno poco d'eſperanca. Yo me voy pienſando que una Sennora tan complida no puede deſviarſe de la razon, y que me haviendo tan favorecido quando eſtava viejo, no puede faltar d'alguna piedad para mi deſcanſo, eſtandome aora moco y lindo y enamorado. Pero ſi me liſonjea mi deſeo y me enganna mi eſperança lo que ay di bueno en eſta occaſion, es que me havienda ſu favor rendido en un inſtante de viejo moco, de la miſma manera me parece que ſu crueldad me ha luego de buelver de moco viejo, y entonces me havre a burlar me tanto de ſu hermoſura quanto ſe puede burlaſe aore V. S. de mi paſſion.

Bive V. S. mille annos, y ſe vea enamorada como yo a ſetenta, que con eſto no ſe ha de olvidar entonces de, ſu mas humilde cryado y galan, Gabriel Poſſello.

To Colonel Algernoon Sidney.

SIR, Bruſſels, April 29, N. S. 1667.

I Received two days ſince one from you of the $\frac{19}{29}$th paſt, with two incloſed, which I ſhall not fail to convey by the Engliſh pacquet that parts this evening, and with the ſame aſſurance that uſually attends my letters; ſo that I think you may reckon upon their ſafety in thoſe hands to which they are addreſſed. Your preſent abode was no ſecret to me, before I knew it from your own hand: that information having been given me about two or three months ſince by ſome Engliſh Gentlemen, who paſſed from Italy through Germany and theſe parts into England, where I cannot think they made a greater ſecret of it upon occaſion, than they had done here.

I am ſorry your diſpoſitions or your fortunes have drawn you ſo far out of the reach of your friends ſervices, and almoſt correſpondence; in which I doubt the difficulties may ſhortly increaſe, at leaſt this way: for we are here at preſent in little hopes to ſee next month end without the advance of a French army into theſe Provinces.

I had letters very lately from Petworth, and my wife ſome as freſh from Penſhurſt, which left health in both thoſe places; and will thereby, I ſuppoſe, furniſh you with news not unwelcome from, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant.

To Monſieur Gourville.

Bruſſels, May 2,

SIR, N. S. 1667.

YOU aſk me whether we have a mind in earneſt for a peace, and I aſk you, whether you have a mind in earneſt

A Monſieur Gourville.

De Bruxelles, May 2,

Monſieur, S. N. 1667.

VOUS me demandez ſi nous voulons tout-de-bon la paix; & moi, je vous demande ſi vous voulez tout-de-bon la guerre; car

earneſt for a war: for as yet we are no better informed of the deſigns and marches of the French troops, than we were at your departure from Bruſſels. I begin to think that that King and his Miniſters are mortal like other people, and that their affairs are managed with as little concert as thoſe of their neighbours. For I believe, as to what concerns this country, the critical minute is paſt, and that the French will find here a braver defence than they pretend to believe. However it is certain, if they had begun by marching rather than menacing about three weeks ago, the buſineſs on this ſide had been paſt remedy. In ſhort, I as little comprehend the French proceedings at preſent, as thoſe of the Spaniards a while ago, nor where they can find their account in this enterpriſe which begins to awake and alarm all Chriſtendom.

For ourſelves, my real opinion is, that our intentions for the peace are very ſincere, and cannot fail, if the other parties bring along with them the ſame diſpoſitions; and if I were as much concerned therein, as you perhaps may be, I would regulate my affairs accordingly for the future.

car juſqu'icy nous n'en ſavons pas plus ſur vos deſſeins & la marche des troupes Françoiſes, que nous en ſavions à votre depart de Bruxelles. Je commence à croire que ce Roy & ſes Miniſtres ſont mortels comme le reſte des hommes, & que leurs affaires ſont maniées avec auſſi peu de concert que celles de leurs voiſins; car je croy, que pour ce qui eſt de ce païs icy, l'heure de berger eſt paſſee pour eux, & qu'ils y trouveront une reſiſtance plus opiniatre, & plus rébutante qu'ils ne s'imaginent: mais il eſt conſtant, que ſi au lieu de menacer, ils euſſent commencé à marcher il y a trois ſemaines, l'affaire étoit ſans reſſource de ce coté icy. Enfin je les comprens auſſi peu dans leur conduit d' à preſent, que je comprenois autrefois les Eſpagnols dans la leur; & je ne prevois pas comment ils pourront trouver leur conte dans la pourſuite d'une enterpriſe, qui va reveiller & méme choquer toute la Chrétienté.

A nôtre égard, mon ſentiment, que je croy véritable, & que je vous communique ſans deguiſement, eſt, que nos intentions pour la paix ſont fort ſinceres, & qu'elle ne ſçauroit manquer de ſe faire, ſi les autres parties y apportent les mémes diſpoſitions; j'ajoute, que ſi j'y étois intereſſé autant que j'entrevois que vous pouvez l'être, je reglerois mes affaires conformement aux conjunctures.

I thank you for your account of what paſſes in your parts; but I am very little ſatisfied with the Queen of Spain's letter, whereof a copy has been delivered at the ſame time to the States by Monſieur D'Eſtrades. I think the form is faulty, as well as the ſubſtance; and that, if your ſoldiers be at preſent no better than your Secretaries, affairs will hardly ſucceed as they imagine.

Je vous rends graces de ce que vous me mandez ce qui ſe paſſe en vos quartiers; mais je ſuis fort peu ſatisfait de la lettre écrite à la Reyne d'Eſpagne, dont la copie a été donnée en même tems aux Eſtats par Monſieur d'Eſtrades. Il me ſemble qu'il y a du defaut dans la maniere auſſi bien que dans le fond de la choſe même; & que ſi pour cette fois vos Capitaines n'en ſavent plus que vos Secretaires, les affaires n'iront pas le train qu'on a penſé.

By the laſt ordinary from Spain, it appears that they dream no more of war there than they do of fire, at leaſt they conceal from our Ambaſſador any advices they may have received of it from hence: but our treaty of commerce was yet once again upon the point of being ſigned. The Spaniards make no preparations againſt Portugal this campaign, and therefore ſeem to think of being on that ſide upon the defenſive, or elſe of an accommodation; though they are well enough informed of the particulars of an accord concluded between France and Portugal.

Par ce dernier ordinaire d'Eſpagne, ils ne paroiſſent non plus ſonger à la guerre qu'au feu; au bien ils taiſent à notre Ambaſſadeur les avis qu'il peuvent avoir reçus deça; mais notre traitté de commerce étoit encore une fois ſur le point d'être ſigné. Ils ne font point de preparatifs contre le Portugal pour cette campagne; & par là ils ſemblent ſonger ſeulement ou à ſe tenir de ce coté-là ſur la defenſive, ou bien à entendre à un accommodement; quoyqu'ils ſachent bien le detail de l'accord conclu entre la France & le Portugal.

Nothing perplexes me more than to find a way of writing often to Breda, and you will not ſend me your addreſs. I reſign up this to my fortune, but, ſince yours is always better than mine, it may happen upon that account that you may never

Il n'y a rien qui m'embaraſſe plus que de trouver les moyens d'écrire ſouvent à Breda; & vous ne m'envoyez point auſſi votre adreſſe. J'abandonne celle-cy à mon étoile; mais comme la votre l'emporte toujours ſur la mienne, il pourra bien arriver qu'elle

never receive it. As happy as you are, I adviſe you to look to your affairs at Breda; for in a few days I reſolve to go and plunder your houſe at Bruſſels, and get ſatisfaction for my great orange-tree upon your little ones. I do not pretend it ſhall be open war; however the Hollanders will tell you that we Engliſh are D—— and all at repriſals. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

qu'elle manquera ſa route. Quelque heureux que vous ſoyez, je vous conſeille pourtant de bien faire vos affaires à Breda, car dans peu de jours j'iray piller votre maiſon à Bruxelles, & vanger mon grand oranger ſur vos petits. Ce ne ſera pas guerre declarée; mais les Hollandois vous diront que nous faiſon le diable à quatre en matiere de repreſailles. Je ſuis, &c.

To my Lord St. Albans.

My Lord, Bruſſels, May 13, N. S. 1667.

SINCE my acknowledgements of the honour I received ſome time ſince from your Lordſhip, I have had nothing to give me countenance in offering any new trouble; and indeed the party is ſo unequal in regard of our ſtations at this time of Paris and Bruſſels, as well as all other circumſtances, that no commerce can paſs without very great preſumption on my ſide, and as great condeſcenſion on your Lordſhip's: for we are ſo amazed with the numbers and bravery of the French preparations to invade this country, that we can hardly lift up our eyes againſt the riſing of this ſun, that, it is ſaid, intends to burn up all before it: yet, not to flatter you, though men's eyes are weak at firſt ſight, when they have gazed a while I believe they will find their hands, and try to defend themſelves againſt gold, as well as againſt iron; and perhaps the ſtomach they have conceived at being treated with ſo little ceremony as to be invaded without any declaration of war, to have the Duchy of Brabant not eſteemed worth the demanding, nor any colours given to the juſtice of the invaſion, will make the defence ſharper than is expected, as it

has done the voluntary contributions larger than was imagined.

This makes all Friars already despair of praying away the war, and begin to look like other worldly men; and the very Nuns fear they may be forced to work too, before the business ends: in short, all prepare for a warm summer, only the Spanish Duennæs cannot think so ill of a King that married an Infanta, and will never leave wondering that *un rey qui tiene que comer en su casa, y de regalarse tanbien*, should resolve to give himself and them so much trouble for nothing. Our poor Nuns at Louvain have more faith, and not less fears, and therefore the reverend mother hath sent to desire me to recommend them to your Lordship's favour, and to beg of you to get them a protection from thence, in case the scholars and learned there should not find arguments to defend their town against the French, who, I can assure your Lordship, will not lose much by the bargain, as far as I see of that nunnery, nuns and all; for it seems, by their faces, as well as their buildings, to be an ancient foundation, and gone much to decay.

Now they have put me upon desiring passports, my wife will needs have me recommend her to your Lordship for another for herself and servants, and baggage, to go over into England; and, if she shall find it convenient, to pass as far as Calais, and embark there, because she is no lover of the sea. Upon the first of these requests your Lordship has occasion to merit very much; but by the second, to deal freely, I know not what you will gain, besides the obligations of a person who is already all that can be, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Ambaſſador Coventry.

My Lord, Bruſſels, May 21, N. S. 1667.

I Know not by what conveyance, nor by what delays, the honour your Excellency intended me ſo long ſince from aboard the frigate, came yeſterday to my hands, and made my acknowledgements later than they ought to have been. I am ſorry you agreed ſo ill with the ſea, ſince that is the Dutch men's element, with whom we hope you will agree ſo well; but if you had the faculty of uttering your heart in the ſeamen's ſenſe, as well as you had of uttering your thoughts; I am to rejoice with you upon the good health you muſt needs have brought aſhore, and to believe that the temper and conſtitution of your body is as ſound and as good as that of your mind. Since my laſt to my Lord Holles, our ordinary from Spain arrived; by which Mr. Godolphin aſſures me, that I may expect the news of our treaty at Madrid being ſigned by the next, nothing remaining at the date of his letter beſides only the examination of the phraſe in Latin, which was referred to the Inquiſitor General and Count Pignoranda; after whoſe ſentence upon it, nothing was in ſight that could ſtop the immediate ſigning and ſealing.

Mr. Godolphin aſſures me, all parts of the treaty of commerce are ſo much to our deſire and advantage, that he hopes to ſee many a rich man in England by it: for the other part, which concerns the adjuſtment with Portugal, though the terms are likewiſe agreed between us and Spain, yet the preſent effect of it ſeems likely to be avoided by the late accord between France and Portugal, of which I ſend the account incloſed by the copy of Sir Robert Southwell's letter to my Lord Sandwich upon that occaſion. I incloſe likewiſe the copies of the French King's laſt letters to the States-General, and, at the ſame time, to the

Queen

Queen Regent of Spain, declaring his intentions to invade theſe countries; which laſt, methinks, is drawn with ſo ill colours and ſo ill grace, that, if his Captains do no better than his Secretaries upon this occaſion, the ſucceſs of his enterprize may prove no better than the juſtice of it here appears. If theſe papers may have arrived already ſome other way, your Excellency will however pardon my diligence, ſince you receive no other trouble than that of throwing them away. The levies here and muſters go on with all the care and ſpeed this government is capable of. This evening, I am aſſured, the twelve hundred Italians ſo long expected, are arrived at Oſtend. Laſt night parted Don Bernard de Salinas, diſpatched from the Marquis here, to beg ſome aſſiſtance from his Majeſty: the preſent hopes are only of leave to recruit the old regiment here to the number of two thouſand, or elſe to raiſe two new ones, under ſuch Officers as his Majeſty ſhall name. The cloud threatening theſe parts from France is not yet broken, and the marches of their troops to three ſeveral rendezvouſes make it yet uncertain where it will fall. Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, Mons, and St. Omers, are in very good condition, and the laſt hath three thouſand men in garriſon, beſides the Burgeoiſie. The Prince of Ligni has now four thouſand horſe effective at the head quarters near Nivelle, where there will be five thouſand foot to join with them, and attend their enemy's motion, and cover Bruſſels upon occaſion. It is moſt certain, that if the French had begun to march when they began to talk, about three weeks ſince, this country had been loſt without diſpute or remedy; the defence will be now perhaps ſharper than expected. La Baſs and Armentiers are already ſlighted, and Charleroy is all mined within, the mines filled with powder; guns and magazines drawn off, and ready to fly upon the firſt approach of the French; which is here eſteemed both a generous and prudent reſolution

tion of the Marquis, ſince he could not finiſh it in time, nor preſerve his child without the mother's danger.

I know nothing elſe to increaſe this trouble, beſides the aſſurances of my being, my Lord, your Excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, May 27, N. S. 1667.

TWO days ſince came hither the news of Armentiers being ſeized by a party of the French horſe, about five hundred ſtrong; half of the fortifications were already ſlighted, and not above an hundred and fifty ſoldiers left in the town. What their next deſign will be, ſeems not yet reſolved; their troops marching on all parts give the occaſion I ſuppoſe to the ſeveral governors of Mons, Cambray, and Valenciennes, to ſignify, by expreſſes hither, the jealouſy each of them has of the ſtorm being ready to fall upon their parts.

At Cambray and Liſle, ſeveral French have been taken ſurveying the works, and diſguiſed; but all thoſe places are at preſent in ſo good condition, that the choice may perhaps make ſome difficulties in the French counſels, which I believe have been much diſconcerted by the blowing up of Charleroy; a reſolution they expected not from the Marquis, and without which theſe parts of the country had run inevitable dangers, and the moſt ſucceſsful invaſion had been made in thoſe Provinces where the French pretenſions lay.

The diſcourſers here obſerve, that the firſt pace of the war, being made in Flanders, loſes all the good grace which the French endeavoured to give their invaſion; that the town they have taken can import no more than the advance of their frontiers; that they

ſeem

ſeem unreſolved whether to keep it or no; how to uſe the governor or ſoldiers whom they took in their beds, whether as priſoners or friends, and more uncertain what to do next; that their ſlowneſs in entering the country, and loſs of twenty days time, though they were then as ready as now, has certainly ſaved theſe Provinces: for it is conſtant without any diſpute, that, if they had fallen on in the beginning of this month, Charleroy, Nivelle, Louvain, Bruſſels, and Mechlin, would have coſt them neither time nor danger. From theſe circumſtances, the reaſoners here conclude a weakneſs and incertitude in the French counſels, and begin to hope they may have taken their meaſures as ill among their neighbours as they have among themſelves; and ſay confidently, that, unleſs they are agreed with England, their affairs are in a worſe poſture than they have been theſe twenty years. They begin to hope that all our late practices with the French are aimed no farther than to embark them in this affair, and have our revenge for the game they played in engaging us in the Dutch war: they ſay, that if, by offers and ſhews of abandoning Spain, we have drawn the French into this war, which hath already coſt them all their confidence with Holland, all farther hopes of amuſing Spain, and the credit of their good faith and meaning with the reſt of Chriſtendom: that if, after our peace made with Holland and France, we reſolve to offer our mediation between France and Spain, and, upon the refuſal or failing of it, join with the Hollander in the protection of theſe countries, enter vigorouſly into the war, ſhare with the Spaniards whatever ſhall be gained from the French, and let Holland find their account by deſtroying all the French deſigns of trade and plantations abroad: the reaſoners here conclude, that, if this has been our deſign for theſe two months paſt, and be purſued with the ſame ſucceſs it has begun, it is one of the greateſt counſels that has ever been conceived by any Prince,

and

and which will make the greateſt change in our own affairs, and in thoſe of all Chriſtendom beſides, and appear the beſt adjuſted revenge upon the French, that ever was taken upon an enemy.

From Breda we have got little more than the entry of our Ambaſſador, which makes us believe ſome myſtery in the delays of peace there, as well as thoſe of war on the other ſide.

From Sweden I have, the laſt poſt, a particular aſſurance of that crown's good intentions towards the houſe of Auſtria, of their diſpatching one Monſieur Tongel Envoy into Spain, who is to paſs this way, and will be addreſſed to me, to introduce him to the Marquis, by whoſe repreſentations the Court of Sweden deſires to have their Miniſter's reception in Spain favoured, and his negotiation advanced.

I am, as will ever become me to be, with equal paſſion and truth, my Lord, yours, &c.

To my Lord Holles.

My Lord, Bruſſels, May 29, N. S. 1667.

I Know not with what ſpeed or ſucceſs three of mine may have arrived at Breda, but am apt to doubt the certainty of this commerce, by obſerving, that your Excellency's of the 22d came not to my hands till yeſterday, and after the receipt of it I was ſo unlucky, as not find the Baron De l'Iſola till later at night than would ſuffer this diſpatch: I now ſend it to Mr. Shaw of Antwerp, with orders to convey it by expreſs from thence, in caſe he meets no other ſudden occaſion: and whatever favour or commands your Excellency may hereafter deſign me, will come ſooner and ſafer, I ſuppoſe, by an addreſs to the ſame hand at Antwerp.

I acquainted the Baron De l'Iſola with the Dutch allegations concerning ſome advances made by him as

as from his Majesty, upon the point of Poleroon. He says, however they may seem to interpret it, they could not understand it by any thing that passed from him in that private communication, which was all he entered into upon his short stay in Holland. That, upon his first discourse of his Majesty's intention to make the treaty of 1662 the foundation of this at present, the person he discoursed with raised two difficulties; the first, that of Poleroon; and the other, the continuance of the pretensions left on either side; which, as they had given occasion, or at least pretext, for the present quarrel, so, if they were left still undecided, they might hereafter have the same effect; whereas their desire was, by this peace, to cut off the root of all future differences. For the first point, he (the Baron) asked, whether, if all other articles should be agreed, the States would be so obstinate upon the point of Poleroon, as to endanger the peace for that alone: It was answered, the French had already essayed to do some offices in this particular, and had brought it to this very demand, whether the States would continue the war rather than yield the point of Poleroon; and that the States had answered formally, they would.

For the second, concerning the mutual pretensions left in the treaty of 1662, he (the Baron) seemed to approve the cutting them all off, but proposed, that, in consideration of it, the States should give his Majesty a sum of money in some sort proportionable to what his pretences might amount; and that, if the States would make any advance considerable in point of the sum, he (the Baron) would employ all his own and his friends endeavours, to induce his Majesty to a condescension in this point of Poleroon, as well as that of clearing all pretensions on either side.

To this was answered, that for Poleroon nothing more could be said, nor any consideration make the States

States yield it, without the alternative of reſtoring all on each ſide, which would create length and difficulty in the treaty. That, for a ſum of money in ſatisfaction of his Majeſty's pretenſions, they could not conſent to any ſuch propoſal, without a particular liquidation of what the pretenſions on each ſide amounted to; ſince they believed in groſs their own upon us to be higher than ours upon them: and yet, at the ſame time, it was inſiſted, that no ſuch examen or liquidation ſhould be entered upon, ſince doing it before the concluſion would expoſe the treaty to the danger of delays, and conſequently of accidents; and leaving it to commiſſioners after the concluſion would leave field for new diſputes.

This was the ſum of the Baron's negotiation, in which he made all the advances as from himſelf; but when he found he was not likely to bring it to any iſſue, by reaſon of thoſe two difficulties, that is, Poleroon, and the ſum in conſideration of our clearing all pretenſions; he then told them, as by his Majeſty's order, that, the point of Poleroon touching our Eaſt-India company, rather than his Majeſty, the King would ſend over ſome perſons deputed from the ſaid company, with his Ambaſſadors; and, if the States would do the ſame, it was likely the perſons deputed from each company might find an expedient in the buſineſs

This the Baron gives me for a ſhort and true relation of all his diſcourſes in Holland, which having been made with one perſon alone, and very private, I find he expected not they would have been ſo public, as to be alledged upon any new negotiations.

Our news from the frontiers ſince my laſt is this: about the time of the French King's coming down to Arras, the orders were given for ſlighting Armentiers, la Baſſee, and Charleroy: which being public, and begun to be executed at Armentiers, a Brigetin Prieſt of

of that town went to Arras, and, upon complaints of their being left without defence in the times of danger that were approaching, made application to the Governor of Arras for a protection for their town: within a day or two after, when the works were about half flighted, inſtead of the protection, came ſeven or eight hundred French horſe, and, finding a guard of about forty men at the entrance of the place, made a diſcharge upon them, killed one, and wounded two: upon which, thoſe few ſoldiers that were in the town-houſe, ſhot and killed three or four of the French, who began to pillage ſome of the burghers houſes; but this diſorder was ſoon appeaſed by their officers; after which they ſummoned the peaſants in, and began to repair the fortifications, kept the Governor in reſtraint, and carried the matter as if this had been the declaration of war. This news coming to the Governor of Liſle, he ſeized upon ſome Frenchmen he found in his town by way of repriſal for thoſe taken at Armentiers; and the Marquis gave order to the Prince of Ligny, who commands the horſe here, to charge any party he ſhould find making courſes into the frontiers, and to endeavour to bring away ſome priſoners, both as repriſals for thoſe of Armientiers, and to know ſomething of the French pretenſions.

After they had kept Armentiers about five days, they releaſed the Governor, told the people they came not to begin any war, but only at their invitation to protect the town; drew off at firſt one party of their men, and laſt Friday morning all the reſt: the Governor of Liſle ſet his Frenchmen at liberty, and the Prince of Ligny ſome that he had taken in a ſkirmiſh of ſmall parties upon the borders of Hainault, wherein the Marquis tells me about fifty of the French were killed, and near twenty taken. This I am more particular in relating, becauſe it ſeems the firſt pace

of

of the war, though ſince in a manner diſavowed by the French; and indeed it is generally cenſured as the effect of a weak and uncertain counſel, to begin without any formed deſign or declaration, by ſeizing ſo raſhly a place of no moment, and in the Province of Flanders, where none of their pretences lie. Theſe three laſt days the motion of their troops has been through Phileppeville, and the frontiers of Haïnault. The French King was expected laſt night at Queſnoy, and to-day at Phileppeville. They have begun a bridge upon the Sambre, near a village called Marſin au Pont, a league up the river from the place where Charleroy ſtood; the ground being on the one ſide Païs de Liege, and on the other the Spaniards country; ſo we expect here they will enter that country to-morrow; but which way they intend their firſt impreſſion is uncertain; the bridge they make ſerving a deſign either upon Namur, Mons, or Bruſſels. The Spaniſh forces on this ſide lie between this place and Marimount, and conſiſt of about four thouſand horſe and as many foot, have no formed deſign but to attend the enemy's motion, and to retire for the defence of this place, in caſe of the enemy's marching this way.

The general belief here of the moſt intelligent is, that France has had the ſkill or good luck *de nous endormir*, both us and Holland, in this great conjuncture, and by aſſuring us of peace upon good terms with the Dutch, and at the ſame time the Dutch of never according with us, nor breaking with Spain to their (the Hollanders) prejudice, will amuſe us both in a ſlow treaty till they have made ſo great an impreſſion in theſe countries, as will give neither of us the liberty to take thoſe meaſures upon this affair, to which either of our intereſts might lead us; and perhaps find means to divert the treaty at laſt from coming to any iſſue. They ſay, that delaying our treaty,

for the point of Poleroon, is losing a dinner for mustard; and that every day it is deferred, endangers an irrecoverable conjuncture, that heaven hath given us, of making ourselves considerable to whom, which way, and to what degree, we please. God send these reasoners to be deceived, and that we may not be so, at least no more by the same hands. I am, my Lord, yours, &c.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

SIR, Brussels, June 21, N. S. 1667.

I AM very sorry that I must rejoice with you, and condole with all your friends at the same time, and upon the same occasion; for, though the retreat I hear you have made from business must needs be a trouble and a loss to us all, yet I know it is an ease and a happiness to yourself, or else a wise man, as you are, ought not to have chosen it. I will not tell you how great a contentment I had in knowing my business lay so much in your way, because I never intend to pursue more than what his Majesty pleases to make my due, and I have ever reckoned both upon your justice and your kindness: but I must bear this disappointment, since you are the author of it, which is the best consolation I can think of. In the mean time, I hope you do not intend to retire from the commerce of your friends, as well as that of business; for, tho' you should lock yourself up within your walls of Frog-pool, I shall ever pretend to have a share in you, there itself, and never omit any occasions of assuring you, that no change you can make in your course of life can ever make any in the resolutions I have taken of being always, Sir, yours, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, July 19, N. S. 1667.

THE diligence of the poſts, or favour of the weather, have given me two of your Lordſhip's to acknowledge ſince my laſt of the 1ſt and 5th current, with the good news of the Dutch being beaten off at Harwich; for, ſince we are in a diſeaſe, every fit we paſs well over is ſo much of good, and gives hopes of recovery: I doubt this is not the laſt, for I hear De Witt is reſolved that their fleet ſhall not give over action till the very ratifications of the treaty are exchanged: in which he certainly purſues his intereſt, that the war may end with ſo much the more honour abroad, and heart at home; for commonly the ſame diſpoſitions between the parties with which one war ends, another begins. And, though this may end in peace, yet I doubt it will be with ſo much unkindneſs between the nations, that it will be wiſdom on both ſides to think of another, as well as to avoid it. All diſcourſe here is of the peace as a thing undoubted, and every pacquet I receive from England confirms me in the belief that a war abroad is not our preſent buſineſs, till all at home be in better order; no more than hard exerciſe which ſtrengthens healthy bodies, can be proper for thoſe that have a fever lurking in the veins, or a conſumption in the fleſh; for which, reſt, and order, and diet, are neceſſary, and perhaps ſome medicine too, provided it come from a careful and a ſkilful hand. This is all that I ſhall ſay upon that ſubject, which, I preſume, has before this received ſome reſolution by my Lord Ambaſſador Coventry's arrival; for I confeſs my ſtomach is come down, and I ſhould be glad to hear the peace ended, and our coaſts clear, ſince it will not be better: but all this while, *Multa gemens ignominiam plagaſque ſuperbi hoſtis*,

and I am ſure would not deſire to live, unleſs with hopes of ſeeing ourſelves one day in another poſture, which God Almighty has made us capable of, whenever we pleaſe ourſelves.

I am ſorry to find the commerce between England and Spain ſo far cut off, as it ſhould ſeem by your Lordſhip's complaints of having received none of a date later than May the firſt, for mine holds yet pretty conſtant, though I ſuppoſe viſited by the French in their paſſage. On Sunday laſt I received one from Mr. Godolphin of the firſt current, where he told me, the treaties were ſent ſigned by ſeveral ways into England, and therefore concluded ſome of them arrived. He ſeems to doubt ſtill the Portugueſe accepting their ſhare in it; which is the likelier, becauſe the Marquis tells me, he hears, by this ordinary, that better terms may be offered them, though it is pleaſant the Spaniard ſhould not have yet reſolved to give them the title, when, for aught I know, without it, all their own may be in danger. His Excellency aſſures me they are reſolved in Spain upon declaring a general war, both by ſea and land, and that way make the French unmaſk their deſigns; that they have ſent orders already to ſeize upon all that belongs to the French in their Indies, who have a great ſhare in the Spaniſh fleet that is daily expected home; that they have remitted, by this ordinary, to his Excellency a hundred and thirty thouſand crowns, which is the third remiſe of about that ſum, arrived ſince the war began; and that they have negotiated with the Fregoni, or ſome ſuch name, being the ableſt merchants at Amſterdam, for nine hundred thouſand more; ſo that the proceſs ſeems well entered, and I wiſh them a good iſſue.

We have here no certainty of the progreſs of the French arms, nor can we ſay that Courtray is taken, though the report has continued more or leſs theſe four

four days; but the Marquis would not own any advice of it on Saturday night; though he ſpoke very deſpairingly of the town, but confidently of the citadel's holding out at leaſt fifteen days, if thoſe within it did their duty. His Excellency makes a very different ſtory of the Baron of Limbeck's defeat, which was reported here; and aſſures me, that, having carried ſome relief into Courtray, he retreated with only two hundred horſe, and, meeting a party of ſix hundred of the French, charged through them, killed the Captain of their vanguard with ſeveral others, and came off with the loſs only of fifteen men.

Yeſterday morning the Marquis went to Ghent, with intentions of returning in three or four days; and hath left the town ſo emptied by his journey, as well as the camp, that, beſides the Governor, I know not of a Gentleman of my acquaintance in it.

The Baron de l'Iſola went this morning towards Antwerp, and from thence paſſes towards Oſtend to go over with the convoy, which I could not perſuade him to loſe, though I endeavoured it upon a hint in your Lordſhip's letter, and more upon his telling me that you had diſſuaded him from coming till the ratifications of the treaty were paſſed; but he ſays he is confident that will be before he can arrive; that he hath ſent over all his papers and bills of exchange beforehand, and, if he loſes this convoy, knows not when to hope for a ſecure paſſage. And, if his Majeſty thinks fit, will rather make a ſtay at Graveſend, or any other place near the water-ſide, till all jealouſy of his coming be blown over.

I give your Lordſhip humble thanks for the letter I received to make uſe of part of the money in Mr. Shaw's hands, for ſupply of what was grown due to me; and am, I am ſure, at all times, more troubled to aſk it, than pleaſed to receive it. I was much more ſenſibly obliged by the part you was pleaſed to give

me of the good fortune arrived to your family, by its increaſe, and my Lady's ſafety; and will aſſure your Lordſhip you do me but juſtice to believe I am concerned in all that happens to you, and more particularly upon this occaſion, of which I have made very conſtant enquiries, though without your Lordſhip's trouble. I give you *El para bien* with all the joy that can be, and the preſages of many more ſuch adventures; and know my Lady began with her own ſex for no other reaſon, but becauſe the war was ended. My own particular ſatisfaction in it is, that my family may continue their ſervices to your Lordſhip's, and that way make up what I ſhall fall ſhort of in the expreſſions of that paſſion and truth, wherewith I am, my Lord, yours, &c.

To my Lord Liſle.

My Lord, Bruſſels, Auguſt — 1667.

I Received lately the honour of one from your Lordſhip, which after all complaints of ſlowneſs and dulneſs had enough to bear it out, though it had been much better addreſſed, but needed nothing where it was, beſides being yours. In my preſent ſtation I want no letters of buſineſs or news, which makes thoſe that bring me marks of my friends remembrance, or touches at their preſent thoughts and entertainments, taſte much better than any thing can do that is common fare.

I agree very much with your Lordſhip, in being little ſatisfied by the wits excuſe, of employing none upon relations as they do in France; and doubt much it is the ſame temper and courſe of thoughts among us, that makes us neither act things worth relating, nor relate things worth the reading. Whilſt making ſome of the company laugh, and others ridiculous, is the game in vogue, I fear we ſhall hardly

ly ſucceed at any other, and am ſorry our courtiers ſhould content themſelves with ſuch victories as thoſe. I would have been glad to have ſeen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain Douglas's death; who ſtood and burnt in one of our ſhips at Chatham, when his ſoldiers left him, becauſe it ſhould never be ſaid, a Douglas quitted his poſt without order; whether it be wiſe in men to do ſuch actions or no, I am ſure it is ſo in States to honour them; and, if they can, to turn the vein of wits to raiſe up the eſteem of ſome qualities above the real value, rather than bring every thing to burleſque, which, if it be allowed at all, ſhould be ſo only to wiſe men in their cloſets, and not to wits, in their common mirth and company. But I leave them to be reformed by great men's examples and humours, and know very well it is folly for a private man to touch them, which does but bring them like waſps about one's ears. However, I cannot but bewail the tranſitorineſs of their fame, as well as other men's, when I hear Mr. Waller is turned to burleſque among them, while he is alive, which never happened to old poets till many years after their death; and though I never knew him enough to adore him, as many have done, and eaſily believe he may be, as your Lordſhip ſays, enough out of faſhion, yet I am apt to think ſome of the old cut-work bands were of as fine thread, and as well wrought, as any of our new points; and, at leaſt, that all the wit he and his company ſpent, in heightening love and friendſhip, was better employed, than what is laid out ſo prodigally by the modern wits, in the mockery of all ſorts of religion and government.

I know not how your Lordſhip's letter has engaged me in this kind of diſcourſes; but I know very well you will adviſe me after it to keep my reſidency here as long as I can, foretelling me what ſucceſs I am like

to have among our courtiers if I come over. The beſt on it is, my heart is ſet ſo much upon my little corner at Sheen, that, while I keep that, no other diſappointments will be very ſenſible to me; and, becauſe my wife tells me ſhe is ſo bold as enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, I am contriving here this ſummer, how a ſucceſſion of cherries may be compaſſed from May till Michaelmas, and how the riches of Sheen vines may be improved by half a dozen ſorts which are not yet known there, and which, I think, much beyond any that are. I ſhould be very glad to come and plant them myſelf this next ſeaſon, but know not yet how thoſe thoughts will hit. Though I deſign to ſtay but a month in England, yet they are here very unwilling I ſhould ſtir, as all people in adverſity are jealous of being forſaken; and his Majeſty is not willing to give them any diſcouragement, whether he gives them any aſſiſtance or no. But, if they end the campaign with any good fortune, they will be better-humoured in that, as well as all other points: and it ſeems not a very unlikely thing, the French having done nothing in ſix months paſt but harraſs their army, and being, before Liſle, engaged in a ſiege, which may very well break the courſe of their ſucceſs. They have not yet made the leaſt advance upon any of the out-works, but been beaten off with much loſs in all their aſſaults: and, if that King's deſign be to bring his Nobility as low as he has done his people, he is in a good way, and may very well leave moſt of the brave among them in their trenches there.

I had not need write often at this length, nor make your Lordſhip any new profeſſions of my being, my Lord, your, &c.

To

To my brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother, Bruſſels, Octob. 10, N. S. 1667.

HAving written ſo many and long letters to my father, I reſolved this ſhould be to you, though upon a ſubject wherein he has been very deſirous to be informed; which was more than I could pretend to from any notices of my own, having been young and very new in buſineſs, when I was firſt employed upon the Munſter treaty. All I knew of the grounds or occaſions of our late war with Holland was, that, in all common converſation, I found both the Court, and the Parliament in general, very ſharp upon it; complaining of the Dutch inſolencies, of the great diſadvantages they had brought upon our trade in general, and the particular injuries of their Eaſt-India company towards ours: and it was not eaſy to think any ſhould better underſtand the honour of the Crown than our Court; or the intereſts of the nation, than the houſe of Commons. One thing I confeſs gave me ſome reflections, which was, to obſerve that three of my father's greateſt friends, and perſons that I moſt eſteemed upon many accounts, were violently againſt the counſels of this war; which were my Lords of Northumberland, of Leiceſter, and Sir Robert Long; though two of them were of the Privy Council, and the third in a great office, and ever bred up in Court. For my own part, when I entered into that affair, all I knew was, that we were actually in a war, and that the beſt we could do was to get out of it either by ſucceſs and victories, or by a fair and reaſonable peace, which I believed our treaty with Munſter would make way for: and I found ſome of our Miniſters had no other end by it, having given over the thoughts of any great advantages we ſhould find by purſuing the war. How that ſucceeded, and how

how it ended, you all know there, as well as I do here.

Upon concluſion of the peace at Breda, my ſiſter took a very ſtrong fancy to a journey into Holland, to ſee a country ſhe had heard ſo much of; and I was willing to give her that ſatisfaction, after the melancholy ſcene we have had here ever ſince the French invaſion of this country. We went *incognito*, with only her woman, a valet de chambre, and a page out of livery, who all ſpoke Dutch. I leave it to her to give you an account of what entertainments ſhe met with there, which ſhe was much pleaſed with, eſpecially thoſe of the Indian houſes: for me, who had ſeen enough of it in my younger travels, I found nothing new but the Stadt-houſe at Amſterdam, which, though a great fabric, yet anſwered not the expectation I had, from ſo much time, and ſo vaſt expence, as had been employed to raiſe it: which put me in mind of what the Cavaliero Bernini ſaid of the Louvre, when he was ſent for to take a view of it, that it was *una granpiccola coſa*. The chief pleaſure I had in my journey was, to obſerve the ſtrange freedom that all men took in boats and inns, and all other common places, of talking openly whatever they thought upon all the public affairs, both of their own State, and their neighbours: and this I had the advantage of finding more by being *incognito*, and think it the greateſt piece of the liberty that country ſo much values; the government being otherwiſe as ſevere, and the taxes as hard, as among any of their neighbours.

At our return from Amſterdam we lay two nights at the Hague, where I made a viſit to Monſieur de Witt: I told him who I was, but that, having paſſed unknown through the country to all but himſelf, I deſired I might do ſo ſtill. I told him, my only buſineſs was, to ſee the things moſt conſiderable in the coun-

country, and I thought I ſhould loſe my credit, if I left it without ſeeing him. He took my compliment very well, and returned it, by ſaying, he had received a character of me to my advantage, both from Munſter and Bruſſels, and was very glad to be acquainted with me at a time when both our nations were grown friends; and had equal reaſon to look about us, upon what had lately happened in Flanders; he ſeemed much to regret the late unhappy quarrel between us, which had made way for this new war among our neighbours. He laid the fault of ours wholly upon Sir George Downing, who having been Envoy from Cromwell at a time when the States were forced to obſerve good meaſures with him; Sir George had made uſe of that diſpoſition, to get a great deal of money from the Eaſt-India company, who were willing to bribe his good offices, in ſome diſputes that remained between the two companies: that, having been continued in the ſame employment by the King, he thought to drive the ſame trade; but, finding the company more ſtanch, he had taken upon him to purſue a diſpute about the old pretenſions, upon the loſs of the Bonadventure, as an affair of State between the nations, whereas it was left by our treaties to be purſued only as a proceſs between the parties. That, in their treaty with Cromwell, all pretenſions on both ſides were cut off, but with this clauſe: *Liceat autem* (to ſuch as were concerned in that affair of the Bonadventure) *litem inceptam proſequi.* That, this treaty having been made the model of that concluded with his Majeſty ſoon after his reſtoration, that clauſe continued ſtill in the new treaty; and the proceſs which had been begun long before Cromwell's treaty, before the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam, had ſtill gone on after their treaty with the King, according to the true intention of that clauſe. That Mr. Cary, who was employed to purſue it in the name of Courtin's executors,

cutors, had brought it very near a compoſition, demanding forty thouſand pounds for all pretenſions, and the Dutch offering thirty. That he (Monſieur de Witt) to end this affair, had appointed a meeting with Mr. Cary, who had ſince confeſſed to his friends, that he was reſolved to end it at that meeting, and rather to take the Dutch offer, than let the ſuit run on; but that very morning Sir George Downing ſent for him, told him it was a matter of State between the two nations, and not only a concern of private men; and therefore abſolutely forbid him to go on with any treaty about it, otherwiſe than by his communication and conſent: that he would put in a memorial to the States upon it, and inſtead of forty thouſand pounds, which he demanded, would undertake to get him fourſcore, and that he was ſure the Dutch would give a great deal more, rather than venture a quarrel with his Majeſty.

This courſe he purſued, made extravagant demands, and with great inſolence; made the ſame repreſentations to our Court, and poſſeſſed ſome of the Miniſters that he would get great ſums of money, both for his Majeſty and them, if they would ſuffer him to treat this affair after his own manner; for he was ſure the Dutch would go very far in that kind, if they ſaw there was no other way to avoid a war with England.

That Monſieur de Witt for his part thought they were a free State no longer, if they ſhould yield a point that they not only knew we had no ground for, but were ſure we knew it as well as they; and that whatever the States ſhould give upon this occaſion, might be demanded at any time by our Court upon any other, ſince none could have leſs pretence.

This was all the account he thought fit at leaſt to give me of this war; but other politic reaſoners among the Dutch pretended to give ſeveral others.

Some

Some ſaid, the Duke's military genius made him deſirous to enter upon ſome action abroad, and be at the head of a great fleet againſt a State he never had been a friend to: that the Duke of Albemarle had long had a pique to their country, upon ſome uſage he reſented during his being an officer there: that he had a very mean opinion of their fleets, as well as their other forces, ſince the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh in the firſt war during the Uſurper's time: that ſome of the Miniſters were poſſeſſed with an opinion of getting money, by only threatening a war, without intention of ſeeing it brought to effect; and had let it run on ſo far, till it was too late to go back. Some others attributed Sir Thomas Clifford's violence in the houſe of Commons, and practices with our Eaſt-India company, to a deeper deſign; and would have the matter of religion concerned in the quarrel, as their pamphlets ſtill endeavoured during the war: and theſe will not believe, that, when all Chriſtendom was at peace, ſuch a war could be begun merely upon a chicane, about the loſs of a ſhip or two ſo many years ſince. There are others that lay the war upon the conduct of France, by which, they ſay, we were engaged in it: that the preſent King was reſolved to purſue the old ſcheme laid by Cardinal Richlieu, of extending the bounds of France to the Rhine, for which ends the conqueſt of Lorrain and Flanders was to be firſt atchieved. That the purchaſe of Dunkirk from us was ſo violently purſued for this end, without which they could not well begin a war upon Flanders. That after this they had endeavoured to engage the preſent Miniſtry in Holland, to renew the meaſures once taken in Cardinal Richlieu's time, for dividing Flanders between France and Holland: but, not ſucceeding in it, they had turned all their intrigues to engage us in a war, which might make room for their invaſion of Flanders, whilſt the two neigh-

neighbours, moſt concerned in its defence, ſhould be deep in a quarrel between themſelves: that they made both parties believe they would aſſiſt them if there were occaſion, and would certainly have done it: that as they took part with Holland upon our firſt ſucceſſes at ſea, and the Biſhop of Munſter's treaty; ſo, if the ſucceſſes had been great on the Dutch ſide, they would have aſſiſted us in order to prolong the war.

Theſe are diſcourſes current in Holland upon this ſubject; and I had rather give you thoſe of others upon it, than any of my own. The Duke of Ormond will be able to judge whether any of theſe Dutch reaſonings are true, or which are moſt probable. For my part I can only ſay, that, however the war began, I am very glad it is ended; but ſorry it has made way for another, which, if it laſts any time, is like to involve us, and perhaps all the reſt of the neighbours, either in a new war, or in new dangers. For if the French ſhall carry Flanders, as they very well may in another campaign, by the weakneſs and diſorders in the government here; the Dutch are ſenſible that they muſt fall to be a maritime province of France, upon the beſt terms they can. The Empire will expect to ſee them ſoon at the Rhine, and thereby maſters of four Electors; and what a condition England will be left in by ſuch an acceſſion of maritime forces, as well as provinces, to ſuch a power as France is already, is but too eaſy and too melancholy a reflection. The Dutch are much exaſperated at this invaſion of Flanders, both as dangerous and as ſcornful to them in particular; for they ſay that France, till the very time of their march, gave conſtant aſſurances to the States, both by the French Ambaſſador here, and by their Ambaſſador at Paris, that they would not invade Flanders without firſt taking their meaſures upon it with the States themſelves. I find our Court

are

are as much provoked on the other ſide, not only upon this new danger, but alſo upon the French having declared war againſt us in favour of Holland, without the leaſt pretence of injury, or other occaſion; ſo that, if we both underſtood or truſted one another, it is likely we ſhould be both of a mind in this matter; but, after ſuch a ſharp war as hath been for two years between us, and ſuch a ſnarling peace as that at Breda, I do not well ſee how this can happen before it be too late, and ſo muſt leave theſe contemplations to ſuch as are in the miniſtry, both in England and Holland, as well as Spain and the Empire, to take ſuch meaſures as are wiſe and neceſſary in ſuch a conjuncture; which is perhaps the moſt important that has been a great while in Chriſtendom, and may have conſequences that none alive will ſee the end of. It is time I am ſure that you ſhould ſee an end of this long letter, and come to the aſſurances of my being ever, Sir, yours, &c.

To Sir George Savile.

SIR, Bruſſels, Dec. 9, N. S. 1667.

BEcauſe my wife aſſures me I am not wholly loſt in your favour and memory, I will not run any farther venture of forfeiting my title for want of laying claim to it, but make uſe of the ſmalleſt occaſion rather than none in a matter wherein I am ſo much and ſo juſtly concerned.

This place never was in a worſe poſture to furniſh either a war or a Gazette than at this time, for the troops are all mouldering in their winter quarters; and, as the greateſt calms ordinarily ſucceed the greateſt ſtorms, ſo, ſince the heat of news and occurrences here during the late campaign, I have hardly known a place where leſs of both were ſtirring; action and invention ſeeming to have ended together. There is

is indeed a new difference between the two Crowns arisen this winter; which is, that France talks of peace, but prepares for war; and Spain talks of war, but prepares hitherto as if they were sure of peace: they say at present they are off that with Portugal, which is the only thing yet in sight that can make the other necessary to them.

Because my wife tells me you were content with the last papers I sent of the Roman news, I take occasion to continue it by the inclosed, though there be seldom any thing in it worth considering at this distance, unless it be the style, and the quiet of that scene, which, like the upper region, has no share in the storms of that below. And besides, as men have more curiosity to enquire how a great man sleeps, than what a mean man does all day long; so the very rest and idleness of that Roman Court seems, among the discoursers, more worth knowing, than the busy motions of many small ones in this northern continent, who yet at this time pretend to be considered, and to make a noise.

This is all I can say to excuse my inclosure of such papers, unless it be that, to tell a plain truth, I was very glad of the occasion to assure you that I am ever, with very much passion, as well as with much reason, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

The triple alliance was made in January 1668.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, London, Jan. 2, N. S. 1668.

YOU will wonder to see a letter from this place, my last having been from Brussels, without any thoughts of such a journey: and, because my stay here is like to be very short, and my time extremely filled, I take the first hour I can find, to give you some account of this adventure.

Soon

Soon after my laſt an expreſs came to me from his Majeſty, commanding me to come immediately into England with all the ſpeed I could poſſibly make, but to take the Hague in my way, and there, upon the credit of a viſit I made Monſieur de Witt laſt September, and which paſſed very well between us, to make him another, and let him know his Majeſty had commanded me to do ſo on purpoſe, to inform myſelf of the opinions he had concerning the French late invaſion in Flanders, their great ſucceſs there, and the appearances of ſo much greater this enſuing ſpring; the thoughts he had of what was the true intereſt of his Majeſty, the States, and the reſt of Chriſtendom upon this occaſion: that his Majeſty, by knowing his mind, ſhould believe he knew a great deal of that of the States, and thought he might thereby be enabled to take ſuch meaſures, as might be neceſſary for him in this conjuncture.

I obeyed this ſummons, ſpoke with Monſieur de Witt, entered into great confidences with him, made report of all to his Majeſty at my arrival here; gave Monſieur de Witt the character I think he deſerves, of a very able and faithful Miniſter to his State, and, I thought, a ſincere dealer, very different from what Sir George Downing had given of him at Court, who would have him paſs for ſuch another as himſelf, but only a craftier man in the trade than he.

Upon all this, his Majeſty came laſt night to a reſolution of the greateſt importance which has yet paſſed, I think, here in any foreign affair, and begun the new year, I hope, with a good preſage, and in which the new Miniſtry, particularly my Lord Keeper and my Lord Arlington, have had a very great part: mine will be to return immediately upon it into Holland, where, if it pleaſe God I arrive and ſucceed, I expect a great deal of ſatisfaction by my errand, and much the greater by knowing that you will have a

great deal in it too, as in an affair I remember to be so agreeable with what have been always your opinions.

The season of the year is bad, and the weather ill, and yet my sister has been so kind as to come with me hither from Brussels, and to resolve to return with me at this short warning to the Hague, which will be a great ease to me as well as satisfaction; and, by freeing me from all domestic cares, leave me the more liberty for those of my business, which, I foresee, will be enough to take up a better head than mine. My wife and children continue here till I see where my wandering planet is like to fix; but my brother Harry resolves to be of the party, and take this occasion of seeing Holland, and what is like to pass in the world upon this great conjuncture. I am called away, and have time only to add the constant professions of that duty, wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 24, N. S. 1668.

UPON last Friday at night I gave your Lordship the account of what advance I had then made in my negotiation, and of the point where it was then arrested, with desires of his Majesty's pleasure; whereupon, having spent that whole day in debates, I had little time left for that letter, but intended to make some amends for the haste of it, within two days, by a dispatch with the yacht, and, though delayed a little longer, will not, I hope, be more unwelcome by bringing your Lordship a fuller and final account, which may be allowed to surprise you a little there, since it is looked upon as a miracle here, not only by those that heard it, but even by the Commissioners

ners themſelves, who have had the whole tranſaction of it, which I ſhall now acquaint your Lordſhip with.

Upon my two firſt conferences with Monſieur de Witt, which were the Tueſday and Wedneſday, I found him much ſatisfied with his Majeſty's reſolution concerning our neighbours; but of the opinion, that the condition of forcing Spain was neceſſary to our common end, and to clear the means towards it from all accidents that may ariſe. For the defenſive league, he was of his former opinion, that it ſhould be negotiated between us; but upon the project offered his Majeſty at Schevelin, by which all matter of commerce might be ſo adjuſted, as to leave no ſeeds of any new quarrels between the nations.

After two very long conferences upon theſe points, we ended with ſome difference upon the neceſſity of concluding both parts of my projects at the ſame time; but, for the reſt, with great confidence and ſatisfaction in one another's ſincere and frank way of treating, ſince the firſt overtures between us.

The firſt time I ſaw him, he told me I came upon a day he ſhould always eſteem very happy, both in reſpect of his Majeſty's reſolutions which I brought, and of thoſe which the States had taken about the diſpoſal of the chief commands in their army, by making Prince Maurice and Monſieur Wurtz Camp-maſters-general, and the Prince of Tarante and Rhingrave Generals of the horſe, each to command in abſence of the other. He told me all the detail of that diſpoſition, but the reſt I remember not well. I laid hold on this occaſion (as indeed I thought was neceſſary) to ſay that his Majeſty gave me order concerning the Prince of Orange; which he took very well, and ſaid, was very obliging to the States; that, for his own part, he never failed to ſee the Prince once or twice a week, and grew to have a particular

affection for him, and would tell me plainly, that the States designed the Captain-generalship of all the forces for him so soon as by his age he grew capable of it.

The next day was my audience, which passed with all the respect that could be given his Majesty's character; and the next morning began my conference with the eight Commissioners of secret affairs: I exposed my powers, and saw theirs, in pursuit whereof I offered them the project of the defensive league, as that which was to be the foundation of all farther negotiations, and without which perhaps neither of us should be very forward to speak our minds with confidence and freedom, in what concerned our neighbours, being likely therein to shock so great powers abroad: I told them, for the rest, his Majesty having resolved, as far as he could in honour, to comply with the sense of the States, in the offices of mediation between the two Crowns; I was first to expect from them the knowledge of the States resolution, in case they were already agreed.

I took this course in my first proposals, because I found here, that the Provinces were not yet resolved upon theirs, five of them only having fallen upon that of Monsieur de Witt; but Zealand being of opinion to agree with France for dividing Flanders; and Utrecht, for suffering France only to retain the last year's conquest, by way of *compromis*, till their pretensions were adjudged before competent arbiters to be agreed by the two Crowns, or by the joint mediators: and I was in hopes, that, knowing his Majesty's resolutions to join with them, before they were agreed among themselves, it might produce some counsels among them a little more favourable to Flanders, and consequently more honourable to his Majesty.

After

After my propoſals, Monſieur de Witt was, by the reſt of the Commiſſioners, deſired to ſpeak for them all in the conduct of our conferences; who, after a preamble of the uſual forms, and compliments upon his Majeſty's happy diſpoſitions to enter into a nearer alliance with the States upon the mentioned points, declared the ſame reſolution in the States, and, allowing our confidence by a defenſive league for the baſis of the reſt, ſaid, the States were very willing *de faire infuſer les clauſes pour la ſeureté commune dans les articles de la mediation*; and was large upon this argument, that, the laſt being of very preſſing haſte as well as neceſſity, and they having already order from their Provinces to proceed upon it, they could not have the ſame powers upon the defenſive, being a new matter, under ſix weeks or two months time, but, as ſoon as they received them, would proceed to give their Ambaſſador in England powers to fall upon that treaty, which muſt, for a baſis, have at the ſame time an adjuſtment of matters of commerce, for his forementioned reaſons.

I thought fit to cut this matter ſhort, and told them directly, I had no orders to proceed upon any other points, but in conſequence or conjunction of the defenſive league; in which I thought his Majeſty had all the reaſons that could be, both becauſe he would not venture a war's ending in Flanders to begin upon England; and on the other ſide knew the States, whoſe danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous reſolutions in their neighbours affairs, till they were ſecure at home by his Majeſty's defence.

That his Majeſty thought the moſt generous and friendly advance, that could be, was made on his ſide, by his propoſition, being himſelf ſo much more out of danger than they were, and ſo much courted to a conjunction with France to their prejudice, as

well as that of Flanders; that they had not made a difficulty of such alliances with Princes, who had lately *des melées* with them as well as his Majesty; and that, God be thanked, his Majesty was not in condition to have such an offer refused by any Prince or State of Christendom.

These were the sum of our discourses, though very long, and such as occasioned the Commissioners to withdraw thrice and consult together; though nothing was resolved, but that Monsieur de Witt and Monsieur Isbrant should spend the afternoon with me at my lodging, to endeavour the adjusting of circumstances between us, since we seemed to agree in substance.

That conference ended, as I gave your Lordship notice that evening, upon the point, that, instead of the project of Schevelin, or any new adjustment concerning marine affairs, the States would proceed upon his Majesty's project of a defensive league, provided the provisional articles in the Breda treaty might be inserted and perpetuated in this, and thereupon we should expect his Majesty's answer to what I should write that night.

The next being Saturday morning, I desired another conference with my two Commissioners, but could not have it till the afternoon, they being to report that morning to the States what had passed the evening before. At our meeting after noon, they told me their communication of all to the States, and their Lordships resolution upon them, that it was necessary the articles provisional should be inserted in the treaty; so as I began to doubt a stop of all till his Majesty's answer, which subjected all to uncertainties: I knew the French Ambassador was grown into very ill humour upon my arrival, and fallen into complaints and expostulations with several of the States; and the more, because he could not see Monsieur

ſieur de Witt from my coming over till that time, though he had often preſſed it, and had an hour given him the next day; Monſieur de Witt having promiſed to ſee him, as he went to church after noon. Upon this I knew likewiſe he had diſpatched a courier to Paris, which I thought would make no delay, and therefore reſolved to fall upon all the inſtances and expedients I could, to draw up a ſudden concluſion. I told them I deſired it extremely, before I could hear again out of England, becauſe I had left Monſieur Ruvigny very buſy at my coming away, and not unbefriended; that I feared the ſame artifices of France to diſturb us here, and perhaps Monſieur d'Eſtrades might, at his next meeting, endeavour to infuſe ſome jealouſies into them, by the relation of what had paſſed between your Lordſhip and Monſieur Ruvigny three or four days after the date of my firſt inſtructions; upon which I told them frankly (as his Majeſty gave me leave) what had paſſed in that affair. Monſieur de Witt aſked me whether I could ſhew him the paper drawn up between you; and, knowing I had it not, deſired earneſtly I would procure it him, aſſuring me no uſe ſhould be made of it, but by joint conſent: but ſaying, nothing would ſerve ſo far to juſtify them, in caſe of a breach growing neceſſary between them and France, I promiſed to write to your Lordſhip about it, which I deſire you will pleaſe to take notice of.

I told Monſieur de Witt, what confidence I had given his Majeſty of his ſincere proceedings, and how I had been ſupported by your Lordſhip in thoſe ſuggeſtions, againſt the opinion of ſome other great men: what advantage theſe would take if they ſaw our whole negotiation was ſtopped upon a thing that looked like a *chicanerie*, ſince articles proviſional till new agreements were in effect as ſtrong as perpetual, which might itſelf be changed by new agreements;

that this would be eſteemed an artifice of his, eſpecially ſince he had declared, upon my aſking him, that it was his own opinion (and that he would tell the States ſo if they demanded it) not to conclude without inſertion of thoſe articles, which yet he could not deny to be of preſent force: for that they allowed; but ſeemed to doubt, that, referring in the treaty of Breda to a new treaty, they would be invalidated, if a new treaty ſhould paſs without their confirmation.

I found Monſieur Iſbrant was content with my reaſons, and ſaid he would undertake his Province ſhould be ſo; but Monſieur de Witt ſaid, Holland and Zealand would not. I told them at laſt, that I was ſure the States would not think fit to loſe the effect of the league propoſed upon ſuch a point as this, and that they intended only to have the advantage of ſeeing his Majeſty's reſolution, in anſwer to my letter, before they concluded, with reſolutions however, that this ſhould not hinder at laſt: that I foreſaw many things might ariſe in ten days time, to break all our good intentions, and ſome more than I had told them, or could at preſent; that, if they knew me, and how far I was to be truſted where I gave my word, I would propoſe an expedient to them; but, being ſo new among them, I thought it was to no purpoſe: there I pauſed. They deſired me I would propoſe however, and ſo I did; which was, That we ſhould proceed to draw up the whole project, and ſign as ſoon as was poſſible; and that, in caſe I afterwards received his Majeſty's leave, in anſwer of my Friday's letter, to inſert thoſe proviſional articles, I would freely declare it to them, and inſert them in a ſeparate article, to be a part of the defenſive league. They both looked a while one upon another, and, after a pauſe, Monſieur de Witt gave me his hand, and, after a compliment upon the confidence he had taken in my face, and in the reſt of my dealing ſince

our

our firſt commerce, told me, that, if I would promiſe them what I had ſaid *en homme de bien*, they would aſk no farther aſſurance of me; and provided the treaty of Breda might be confirmed in the preamble of this, to take away all ſcruples of thoſe articles being of leſs force than they were before; for his part, though he could promiſe nothing what the States would reſolve, yet he would promiſe, that he and Monſieur Iſbrant would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to induce them to proceed upon my propoſition. And ſo we fell immediately to digeſt our project of the whole treaty: for I made no difficulty of the confirmation propoſed, knowing that new treaties uſe to begin by confirmation of the old.

I am the larger in this relation, that his Majeſty may know upon what reaſons I engaged my word to them in this point, and thereupon may give me leave, without more circumſtances, to be true to it, in caſe his Majeſty's pleaſure in the point be diſpatched away to me, upon the receipt of my former letter.

After this difficulty well evaded, we found none but in this expreſſion [*In caſe our perſuaſions to Spain ſhould not prevail, and we ſhould come à la force et à la conſtrainte*], which I moderated at firſt by the words [*aux moyens plus durs*], and afterwards [*aux moyens plus efficaces*]; for we drew it up firſt in French: the other additions or enlargements, I dare preſume, his Majeſty will not be diſpleaſed with, no more than that article about Portugal, though I had no inſtruction in it. If I have failed in enlarging upon very ſhort and haſty inſtructions, I moſt humbly beg his Majeſty's pardon, becauſe I am ſure I kept myſelf, as cloſe as was poſſible, to what I apprehended to be his Majeſty's ſenſe upon the whole and every part.

That evening being Saturday, or rather that night and Sunday morning, we agreed upon the project in French, and gave order for the tranſlating of it into Latin,

Latin, which was done, and perused by me, and agreed to between twelve and one that night, and engrossed by eleven next morning, being Monday, and, at a meeting with the Commissioners, jointly was signed and sealed, and mutually delivered between two and three that afternoon; after that, time spent in comparing the instruments, and adjusting the sums, computed as the value of the several aids.

After sealing, we all embraced with much kindness and applause of my saying upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, icy comme freres:* and Monsieur de Witt made me a most obliging compliment, of having the honour, which never any other Minister had before me, of drawing the States to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and a *secours* of the greatest expence they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitutions, which enjoined them recourse to their Provinces upon all such occasions, and used to draw out all common deliberations to months delays; and added upon it, that, now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

I must add three words to do him right in return of his compliment, that I found him as plain, as direct, and square, in the course of this business, as any man could be; though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country: and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him, and for his industry no man had ever more. I am sure, for these five days at least, neither of us spent any idle hours, neither day nor night.

After the conclusion, I received yesterday the visits of all the public Ministers in town, except the Ambassadors, between whom, and Envoys extraordinary, some difficulties were arisen (they say, here first begun by Sir George Downing) which have, in a manner, spoiled all commerce. None of the other failed

to

to rejoice with me upon the concluſion of my buſineſs, and to expreſs their adoring his Majeſty's reſolutions, which, in this conjuncture, they ſay, have given new life to all the Courts of Chriſtendom, whoſe counſels were before in the greateſt perplexities and diſorder that could be. They ſay his Majeſty will have the ſole honour of giving either peace to Chriſtendom, or a balance to the wars; and has ſhewn, that all muſt follow what he gives a head to. Much more of this kind I hear from all hands, and have no reaſon to doubt their meaning what they ſay.

Thus far I have given your Lordſhip the ſmooth ſide only of this concluſion, and now you muſt receive the rough: for, having concerted with the Commiſſioners, that Monſieur de Witt and I ſhould give part of our treaty (all but the ſeparate articles) to the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors; the firſt we performed this afternoon, the laſt we intend to morrow morning.

The French Ambaſſador had been much ſurprized with our concluſion: for, upon our firſt conference with the Commiſſioners, he had ſaid, *Tout cela s'en ira en fumée, et que le roy ſon maitre s'en mocqueroit.* The day before our ſigning, being told we advanced very faſt, he replied: *Et bien, d'icy à ſix ſemaines nous en parlerons*, relying upon the forms of the State, to run the circle of their towns.

Upon our giving him part of the whole buſineſs, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our end; that the fourth article of the ſecond inſtrument was not in terms very proper to be digeſted by a king of twenty-nine years old, and at the head of eighty thouſand men: that, if we had joined both to deſire his Maſter to prolong the offer he had made of a ceſſation of arms till the time we propoſed, and, withal, not to move his arms farther in Flanders, though Spain ſhould refuſe, we might hope to ſucceed; but, if we thought to preſcribe him laws,

and force him to compliance, by leagues between ourſelves, or with Spain, though Sweden and the German Princes ſhould join with us, he knew his Maſter *ne flecheroit pas*, and that it would come to a war of forty years. From this he fell a little warmly upon the proceedings of the States, ſaying, they knew his Maſter's reſolutions upon thoſe two points, neither to prolong the ceſſation propoſed beyond the end of March, nor to deſiſt the purſuit of his conqueſts with his own arms, in caſe Spain conſented not to his demands within that term. He ſaid, his Majeſty, not being their ally, might treat and conclude what he pleaſed, without their offence; but for the States, who were their neareſt ally, to conclude ſo much to his Maſter's diſreſpect at leaſt, and without communicating with him the Ambaſſador at all during the whole treaty, he muſt leave it to his Maſter to interpret as he thought fit. Monſieur de Witt defended their cauſe, and our common intentions, with great phlegm, but great ſteddineſs, and told me, after he was gone, that this was the leaſt we could expect at firſt from a Frenchman; and that I ſhould do well, however, to give his Majeſty an account of it by the firſt, that we put ourſelves early in poſture, to make good what we have ſaid; and that, as to the time and degree of our arming, he would conſult with the States, and let me know their thoughts to be communicated to his Majeſty upon this occaſion.

I was in hopes to diſpatch this away to-morrow morning, but I ſhall be hindered till night, by the delay of ſigning a ſeparate article with the Count de Dona, whereby place is reſerved for Sweden to enter as principal into this treaty: for I have gone along in the whole buſineſs, ſince my coming over, with perfect confidence and concert with the Count de Dona, upon his aſſuring me, his orders were to conform himſelf to his Majeſty's reſolution in what concerns the two Crowns, though, before he abſolutely engages,

he

he expects from the Spaniards, by our intercession, some supplies for payment of his troops, and some other adjustments with the Emperor, which will be treated between the several Ministers at London under his Majesty's influence. In what I shall sign upon this occasion, together with the States, I confess to your Lordship to go beyond my instructions, but apprehending it to be wholly agreeable to his Majesty's intentions, and extremely advantageous to the common ends and affairs; I venture upon this excess, and humbly beg his Majesty's pardon if I fail. Your Lordship will be troubled with some postscript to-morrow, before I dispatch an express with the copies to be ratified by his Majesty within a month, though, I hope, a less time will be taken, those of Holland having undertaken theirs in fifteen days. I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 26, N. S. 1668.

SINCE the close of my long dispatch, I have every hour expected the copies to be transmitted for his Majesty's ratification, without being able to procure them. I cannot but imagine some occasion of the delay may have been a desire in them here to interpose some time between the receipt of my last Friday's letter and of this packet, to the end his Majesty may in the mean time have dispatched his orders to me about the provisional articles, though I cannot think they should be of such moment inserted or omitted to either side.

I now dispatch the inclosed copies of the treaty, in order to his Majesty's ratification, which it is generally desired may be returned as sudden as possibly; the States having undertaken to have theirs ready in fifteen days after the signing, and believing it necessary to proceed jointly and early to the mutual counsels of arming, in case France continues the dispositions they seem to be in at present of pursuing the war.

My

My brother, who will deliver this dispatch to your Lordship, is able to add what particular circumstances I may have omitted, or your Lordship shall think fit to enquire from this place; and what he fails, Count Dona will supply, who is a person well worth your Lordship's particular acquaintance and assistance in his negotiations, or at least the forms and entrances of them, being, in all points, our friend.

Yesterday the Spanish Ambassador received the communication of our treaties from Monsieur de Witt and me, with some descants upon the hardship of it, but, I believe, satisfaction at heart. I have this day written at large, and with all the instance imaginable, to the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo to induce his consent, and, immediately upon the ratifications, shall away and pursue that point at Brussels.

I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordship upon the success of this affair, having observed in your Lordship, as well as my Lord Keeper, a constant steddy bent, in supporting his Majesty's resolution, which is here so generally applauded as the happiest and wisest, that any Prince ever took for himself or his neighbours: what in earnest I hear every hour, and from all hands of that kind, is endless, and even extravagant. God of heaven send his Majesty's counsels to run on the same course; and I have nothing left to wish, since I know your Lordship will continue to esteem me what I am with so great passion and truth, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 27, 1668.

THOUGH I know my long dispatch by this express to my Lord Arlington will give your Lordship your share of trouble, yet I could not omit the charging my brother with a particular attendance upon your Lordship from me, nor accompanying him with these acknowledgements of your Lordship's great favour and good opinion, even before

fore I had the honour of being known to you. I will preſume I have done nothing ſince to forfeit them, as I had nothing before to deſerve them; and that my late good fortunes at the Hague will help to continue what my good fortune alone at Bruſſels began, and my five days ſtay at London ſerved to improve in ſo great a degree. Yet, I will aſſure your Lordſhip, if I can make any farther advance by the reſentments of your favour, by my deſires to deſerve it in the return of my beſt ſervices, or by the true honour and eſteem of thoſe qualities I have diſcovered in your Lordſhip, upon ſo ſhort an acquaintance; I am very far upon my way already.

But I will leave this ſubject, in the firſt place, to congratulate with you upon another; which is the ſucceſs of a counſel, wherein I obſerved your Lordſhip and my Lord Arlington to have the moſt ſteddy bent, in promoting a reſolution of his Majeſty's which is on this ſide the water eſteemed generally the happieſt and the wiſeſt that could ever have been taken by any Prince in ſuch a conjuncture, and upon reſpects not only of his own affairs, but even thoſe of all Chriſtendom beſides. It is not fit for me to tell you much of what I hear of this kind, or the applauſes given to his Majeſty and his Miniſters upon this occaſion: to tell you all, I am ſure, would be endleſs; but, from what I hear, I cannot but raiſe at leaſt a happy preſage of a new year, and a new miniſtry's running on together, with a ſucceſſion of the ſame honour and good fortunes both to his Majeſty and his kingdoms.

In the next place, I will, according to your orders, give your Lordſhip an account of ſome particulars that fell into this great tranſaction, which I thought not fit to trouble my Lord Arlington with, as not perhaps proper, or of weight enough, for the view of his Majeſty or the foreign committee, and yet worth the knowledge or reflection of ſome of his Miniſters,

in

in order to the conduct of his Majesty's counsels hereafter, both in this and other of his affairs.

I must tell your Lordship, that, in my first conference with Monsieur de Witt since my return, I began with telling him, that he could not but remember, when I passed this way last into England, I told him, upon what points his Majesty desired, with the greatest secresy that could be, to know his opinion, and by that to guess at what might be the States, upon the present conjuncture of affairs in Flanders; to the end his Majesty might accordingly take his own measures. That his Majesty guessed, by the general carriage and discourses of the Dutch Ambassadors at London, the States were not willing to see Flanders over-run by France, but could not find they had any thing positive to say to him upon that subject: that he had therefore sent me privately and plainly to tell him his mind upon it, as to a man of honour, and who he believed would make no ill use of it, (and if he thought fit) to know his sentiments upon that affair. That, for his Majesty, he neither thought it for his own interest nor safety, nor for that of the States, or of Christendom in general, that Flanders should be lost; and therefore was resolved to do his utmost to preserve it, provided the States were of the same mind, and that it might be done in conjunction between them; and to that end desired to know, whether the States would be content to enter into an alliance with him, both defensive between themselves, and offensive against France, for the preservation of Flanders. That he (Monsieur de Witt) might remember, his answer to me was; first, much applause of his Majesty's resolution, great acknowledgement of his confidence towards him by that communication, much assurance that the States would be of the same mind, as to the preservation of Flanders, which was their nearest interest next their own: that he found both his Majesty and the States had the same mind, as well

as

as intereſt in this matter, but that the diſtruſts, remaining upon the late quarrel between them, had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly upon it. But ſince his Majeſty had pleaſed to break it to him in a manner ſo obliging, though he could not pretend to tell me his Maſter's mind, yet he would his own: which was, that the defence of Flanders was abſolutely neceſſary, but that it ought to be tried firſt, rather by a joint Mediation of a peace between the two crowns, than by a declaration of war; but that, if the firſt would not ſerve, it ought to come to the other. That I knew France had already offered a peace to the offices made by the States upon an alternative at the choice of the Spaniards; that he thought our mediation ought to be offered to both Crowns upon that foot, to induce France to make good their own offer, and Spain to accept it. And that to this purpoſe he thought it very neceſſary to make a ſtrict alliance between his Majeſty and the States.

That, for making an offenſive alliance, it could not be; for it was a maxim obſerved by this State, never to make any, at leaſt when they were in peace; that, for defenſive leagues, they had them with many Princes, and he believed would be ready to enter into one with his Majeſty; and, though he could not at all anſwer what would be the mind of the States upon theſe points, yet he had told me his; and would add, that he was not uſually miſtaken in theirs, and that he would at leaſt uſe all his endeavours to bring the States to ſuch opinions and reſolutions.

When I had ſaid this, and obſerved by his action and face that he aſſented to this recital of all that had paſſed between us; I aſked him whether this was all right, that I might know whether I had miſtaken nothing in repreſenting his Majeſty's meaning to him, nor his to his Majeſty. He anſwered, that it was

all right, and that he very well remembered it, and much commended a method of proceeding ſo exact and ſincere, by an endeavour to avoid all miſtakes between us.

I then told him, that I had, upon my arrival in England, repreſented all as faithfully to his Majeſty as I had done to him; and that upon it his Majeſty had taken ſo much confidence in his (Monſieur de Witt's) opinion and judgment, as well as in his credit with the States, that he had taken a ſudden and firm reſolution upon it; firſt, to join with the States in the offer of a mediation between the two Crowns, and upon ſuch terms as they and I ſhould agree, but with a deſire that they might be as advantageous as the States could be induced to, for the preſervation of Flanders, and recovery of ſuch places as ſhould be moſt neceſſary to it. In the next place, to conclude a treaty, the ſtrongeſt that could be between us, for obliging France to accept the peace upon thoſe terms, and in the mean time for putting a ſtop to the courſe of their arms in Flanders. But that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to begin all this with a ſtrict league between him and the States, for their own mutual defence, and to this purpoſe had ſent me over as his Envoy to the States with full powers, and the draught of a defenſive league between us; but refers the reſt, for what touched Flanders, to what the States and I ſhould agree.

Monſieur de Witt received this diſcourſe with a countenance pleaſed, but yet, as I marked, ſomething ſurpriſed, as if he expected not a return from his Majeſty ſo ſudden and ſo reſolute. He ſaid, that the States would be much pleaſed with the honour his Majeſty did them, and the overture he made them; that I ſhould chuſe my time, whenever I deſired it, for my audience; and would paſs the forms of demanding it from the Preſident of the week: that he

was

was ſtill confident the States would enter with his Majeſty into the mediation, though France gave them hopes of ſucceeding by their own: that the Provinces differed in opinion upon what terms the peace ſhould be made: that Utrecht was ſo bold as to think nothing but juſtice ought to be conſidered in the caſe, that all that France had conquered ſhould be reſtored to Spain, and their pretenſions be referred to judgment or arbitrage. But Holland, with moſt of the other Provinces, were of another mind, and conſidering their own preſent condition, as well as that of France, thought it beſt to keep the French to their own offer; but he believed would come to means of more force if France ſhould recede from what they themſelves had advanced to the States. That, for the defenſive league between us, he did not know whether the late ſore were yet fit for ſuch an application, but would try the mind of the States. That he doubted they would think it like to prove too ſudden a change of all their intereſts, and that which would abſolutely break them off from ſo old and conſtant a friend as France, to rely wholly upon ſo new and uncertain a friend, as England had proved.

I told him, that the doing what he ſaid, would be the effect of any treaties of this nature between us, let them be as tenderly handled and compoſed as we could: that France would take it as ill of us and of them, to be ſtopped in the remaining conqueſt of Flanders, as to be forced out of all they had already gained: that he knew very well, it had been long their deſign, at any price, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and he knew as well that it was their intereſt to do ſo, conſidering the advantages it would give them over all the reſt of Chriſtendom; that it was as much our intereſt to hinder it, and that nothing could do it, but a firm conjunction between us: that the States part would be next after Flanders

was gone, and therefore they had now as much need of being protected by England againſt France, as they thought they had three or four years ago of being protected by France againſt England; and that they had no other choice, but either continuing their friendſhip with France till they ſhould ſee both Flanders and themſelves ſwallowed up by ſuch a neighbour, or elſe change their whole meaſures, and enter into the ſtricteſt alliance with his Majeſty for the preſervation of both; and let France take it as they pleaſed.

Monſieur de Witt confeſſed the deſigns of France for the conqueſt of Flanders; ſpoke of the treaties they had made with the States in Cardinal Richlieu's time, and lately offered again, for *partaging* it between them; and ſaid, he underſtood very well the danger of ſuch a counſel and neighbourhood, or elſe he ſhould have fallen into them; but the ventures were great on the other ſide too; that the States were much more expoſed than the King; that the Spaniards were weak, and ill to be truſted by the States, between whom there had never yet been any better meaſures than barely thoſe of the Munſter peace, after ſo great rancours and long hoſtilities. That, though he believed the German Princes would be glad of what his Majeſty propoſed, yet he knew not how far Sweden might be engaged in the meaſures with France, who lay here at their backs in the duchy of Bremen. And, laſt of all, though this reſolution ſeemed now to be taken by his Majeſty and his Miniſters, upon the ſureſt and wiſeſt foundations, which were thoſe of true intereſt and ſafety; yet no man knew how long they might laſt. That, if they ſhould break all their meaſures with France, and throw themſelves wholly upon his Majeſty by ſuch a conjunction, any change of counſels in England would be their certain ruin. That he knew not this preſent Miniſtry,

niſtry, and could ſay nothing to them; but that he knew the laſt too well. Upon which he ſaid a good deal of our uncertain conduct ſince his Majeſty's return, and concluded that the unſteadineſs of counſels in England ſeemed a fatal thing to our conſtitution; he would not judge from what grounds, *mais que depuis le temps de la Reyne Eliſabet, il n'y avoit eu qu'une fluctuation perpetuelle en la conduite de l'Angleterre, avec laquelle on ne pouvoit jamais prendre des meſures pour deux années de temps.* After this ended with ſome melancholy that looked a little irreſolute. I told him, that as to their own intereſts, he knew them, and could weigh them better than I; that, after my audience and firſt conference with Commiſſioners, I ſhould quickly ſee how the States would underſtand them, in which I knew very well how great a part he would have: that, for our danger, I confeſſed they would be firſt expoſed to France, and we the laſt, which made it reaſonable they ſhould make the firſt pace to their ſafety. That for Sweden, I had no orders to negotiate with them; but, being fully inſtructed in his Majeſty's general intentions, I ſhould be glad to ſee them ſtrengthened all I could; and to that purpoſe, if he thought fit, I would talk with the Count Dona, the Swediſh Ambaſſador here, and ſee whether he had any powers to engage their Crown in any common meaſures for the ſafety of Chriſtendom; that, if by ſuch a conjunction we could extend it to a triple alliance among us, upon the ſame foundation, I believed he would think it too ſtrong a bar for France to venture on. That, for the unſteadineſs of our counſels, I would rather bewail than defend it; but that I ſhould not have made this journey, if I had not been confident that had been ended, and we now bottomed paſt any change or remove. That I could not pretend to know any body's mind certainly but my own: but that upon this matter I was as confi-

dent of his Majesty's, of your Lordship's, and my Lord Arlington's, as I was of my own. Upon this occasion I said a great deal, not only of the interests, but resentments, that had engaged his Majesty and his Ministers in this counsel; and concluded that I was confident it could never break, but would answer, if ever it did, it should never be by my hand, and was as confident I might answer the same for your Lordship and my Lord Arlington, and that you would fall or stand upon this bottom.

Monsieur de Witt seemed much satisfied with what I had said; assured me, for his part, he would give his hands towards a good conclusion of this affair: that he would trust his Majesty's honour and interest upon so great a conjuncture, as well as the sincereness and constancy of his Ministers, whom he could judge of by no other lights but what I gave him; made me compliments upon the great confidence he had taken in me and my manner of dealing, by what he had heard and seen of me since the first visit I made him in my passage here, after the end of the war; and concluded that I should see the Count Dona, and try how far Sweden was to be engaged in this affair.

I tell your Lordship all these circumstances, that, knowing where the difficulties have been, how they have been overcome, and upon what advances on my side this knot has been tied, your Lordship and my Lord Arlington may the better know how to support this affair, and make many others easy, by recovering the credit of our conduct in England, so far lost by the unsteadiness too truly laid to our charge; and at least by your own constancy, in what you have begun, make good the characters you have already in the world, and the assurances I have given Monsieur de Witt upon your occasion.

That

That evening I went to the Count Dona, and run over all ceremonies of our characters, by going straight into his chamber, taking a chair, and sitting down by him before he could rise out of his. I told him I hoped he would excuse the liberty upon an errand wherein I thought both our Masters were concerned; that ceremonies were intended to facilitate business, and not to hinder it; that I knew nothing to make my seeing the other Ambassadors at the Hague necessary, and so was content with the difficulties had been introduced between our characters; but, thinking it absolutely for my Master's service to enter into confidence with his Excellency upon my errand here, I had resolved to do it in this manner, and, if he gave me leave, would pursue it as if our acquaintance and commerce had been of never so long a date.

The Count embraced me, gave me great thanks for the honour I did him, made me compliments upon so frank and confident a manner as I used with him; and said he was ready to return it upon any thing that I should think fit to communicate to him.

After this I entered into the detail of my whole progress to that time, both in England and here; of his Majesty's reasons, of the common interests of Christendom, of the reception my errand found from Monsieur de Witt, and the hopes I had of succeeding: of our discourses about engaging Sweden in the same measures, and a desire of extending our league into a triple alliance among us, for our own mutual defence, the safety of Flanders, and thereby of Christendom. That I knew how the Crown of Sweden had been treated of late years by France, how close they had kept to the friendship with his Majesty, and how beneficial, as well as honourable, such a part as this might prove to them, by the particular use they might be of to the Crown of Spain; and that, upon

any good occaſion, they might be ſure of his Majeſty's offices and the States, who reſolved to enter into this affair without any other intereſt than that of the preſervation of Flanders, and thereby of their own ſafety, and the common good.

The Count Dona profeſſed to applaud his Majeſty's counſel, to be confident that Sweden would be content to go his pace in all the common affairs of Chriſtendom, which he was aſſured of by his own inſtructions in general; but that, ſuch an affair as this not being foreſeen, he could have none upon it: that, if it ſucceeded, he would make all the paces he could to engage his Maſter in it, as what he thought of honour and advantage to the common ſafety: but that he would return my frankneſs to him with the ſame to me, in telling me, that he doubted my bringing it to an iſſue: that he firſt doubted Monſieur de Witt's reſolution, to break upon any terms with France, and cloſe with England; not only conſidering what had lately paſſed between us, but the intereſts of the houſe of Orange, which, he muſt ever believe, would, at one time or other, be advanced by us; whereas he was ſure to be ſupported againſt them by France: therefore he believed, though he would not oppoſe it, becauſe the States and people might run into it; yet he would find ſome means to elude the concluſion or effect of it, without appearing himſelf in any ſuch deſign: that, in the next place, ſince ſuch a treaty could not be made by the States-General, without firſt being ſent to all the Provinces and towns for their approbation, and orders upon it to their deputies; he did not ſee how it was poſſible for the French Ambaſſador to fail of engaging ſome towns or Provinces againſt it, and the oppoſition of any one of them would loſe the effect; ſince no new treaty could be made, by the conſtitutions here, without an univerſal conſent. That, however, he would not diſcourage

courage me, but wiſh me ſucceſs with all his heart, upon many reaſons, and, among others, as being ſo much a ſervant to the houſe of Orange, which could not but profit by a conjunction between England and Holland: and again promiſed, whenever I brought it to a period, to uſe all his endeavours, and ſtretch his powers as far as he could, towards engaging his Maſter in the ſame meaſures with us.

In the ſecond conference I had with Monſieur de Witt, I acquainted him with what had paſſed with Count Dona, which he ſeemed much pleaſed with; and ſaid, though we could not expect he ſhould have powers ſo general as to conclude ſuch an affair, yet an inſtrument might be drawn up between us, whereby room may be left for Sweden to enter as a principal into our alliance; and the Count de Dona had ſo much credit at his Court, to recommend it there ſo as to ſucceed, eſpecially upon the hopes we muſt give him of obtaining ſubſidies from Spain, which might countervail what they might loſe from France upon this occaſion.

I then fell upon the form of concluding this treaty; ſaying, I could eaſily foretel the fate of it, if it muſt paſs the common forms of being ſent by the ſeveral deputies to all their principals for their reſult upon it: that I knew this would take up a month or ſix weeks time, and that nothing would be ſo eaſy as for the French Ambaſſador to meet with it in running that circle, and by engaging ſome one member, perhaps by money thrown among the chief perſons in ſome of the ſmall towns, to prevent and ruin a counſel of the greateſt importance to Chriſtendom, as well as to our two nations, that had been on foot in many ages: that, unleſs the States-General would conclude and ſign the treaty immediately, and truſt to the approbation of their ſeveral Provinces and towns

after

after it was done, I ſhould give it for gone, and think no more of it.

Monſieur de Witt ſeemed to think this impoſſible; ſaid, no ſuch thing had ever been done ſince the firſt inſtitution of their commonwealth; that, though it was true, the States-General might ſign a treaty, yet they could not ratify it without recourſe to their principals, and that they ſhould venture their heads in ſigning it, if their principals, not approving it, ſhould queſtion them for doing it without orders; that he hoped the forms might be expedited in three weeks time, and that all care that could be, ſhould be taken to prevent the addreſſes of the French Ambaſſador among the Provinces.

I cut the matter ſhort, and told him, I continued of my firſt opinion, to ſee it immediately agreed between me and the Commiſſioners, and then ſigned by the States, which might be done in four or five days; and that the deputies might ſafely truſt to the approbation of their principals in a point of ſo great and evident public intereſt: that, for my part, I knew not how this delay, and thereby hazard, of the affair might be interpreted in England, nor what change in my orders it might produce: that I had now powers to conclude an alliance of the laſt conſequence to the ſafety of Flanders and this State; that, if it ſhould miſcarry by the too great caution of the deputies in point of form, for aught I knew they might venture their heads that way, and more deſervedly, than by ſigning at preſent what, all of them believed, would not only be ratified, but applauded by their principals. With this I left him; and the reſt that paſſed in the progreſs of this affair, as well as in my audience, or with the Commiſſioners, your Lordſhip has it in my diſpatch to my Lord Arlington, to whom you will pleaſe to communicate theſe more ſecret ſprings,

ſprings, that, by knowing the conception, the forming, the throws, and birth of this child, you may the better conſult how it is to be nouriſhed till it grow to ſtrength, and thereby fit to atchieve thoſe great adventures for which it ſeems deſigned.

I am ever, with equal paſſion and truth, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

To Mr. Godolphin.

SIR, Bruſſels, Jan. 28, N. S. 1668.

THough the interruption of our commerce hath been long, yet I thought it neceſſary to renew it at this time, and thereby let you know what has lately broken it on my ſide, that you may not believe any interruption of yours has had a worſe effect upon me of late, than it ever had before, being an accident I have often been ſubject to. About the end of laſt month, N. S. I paſſed through this place with private commiſſion from his Majeſty, to ſound the mind of the States in what concerns the preſent quarrel between the two Crowns, and how they were diſpoſed to join with him in the ſhare of a war, or project of a peace, to be endeavoured by our joint offices between them. From hence I went to London, with the private account of what I had in charge. After five days ſtay there, I was diſpatched back, as his Majeſty's Envoy extraordinary to the States, with full power to treat and conclude upon thoſe points which his Majeſty eſteemed neceſſary for our common ſafety, and the repoſe of Chriſtendom, in this conjuncture. Upon the 6th I arrived here, had my firſt audience on the 18th, and on the 23d were ſigned by me, and the Commiſſioners given me by the States with full powers, three ſeveral inſtruments of our preſent treaty: the firſt containing a league defenſive and

and perpetual between his Majeſty and the States, againſt all perſons without exception, that ſhall invade either of them, with agreement to furniſh each other, upon occaſion, with forty ſhips of war, of which, fourteen between ſixty and eighty guns, and four hundred men a-piece, one with another; fourteen between forty and ſixty guns, and three hundred men a-piece; and, of the other twelve, none under thirty-ſix guns, and a hundred and fifty men: beſides this, with ſix thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, or money inſtead of them, at the choice of the invaded, and to be repaid within three years after the end of the war: the proportions of money to the ſeveral parts of the ſaid aid being aſcertained in the treaty.

The ſecond inſtrument contains our joint obligations to diſpoſe France to make peace in Flanders, upon one of the alternatives already propoſed; and likewiſe to diſpoſe Spain to accept it, before the end of May; but, in caſe of difficulty made by them, to diſpoſe France, however, to ſtop all farther progreſs of its own arms there, and leave it wholly to the allies to procure the ends propoſed in this league.

The third inſtrument contains certain ſeparate articles between his Majeſty and the States, ſigned at the ſame time, and of the ſame force with the treaty, but not to be committed to letters.

It is hardly imaginable, the joy and wonder conceived here, upon the concluſion of this treaty, brought to an iſſue in five days, nor the applauſe given to his Majeſty's reſolution, as the wiſeſt and happieſt that could, in this conjuncture, be taken by any Prince, both for his own and his neighbours affairs; nor are the reflections upon the conduct of it leſs to the advantage of the preſent miniſtry in England; the thing being almoſt done here as ſoon as my journey was known in London, and before my errand was ſuſpected by any public Miniſter there.

Three

Three days after our signing, the Swedish Ambassador signed another instrument jointly with me and the States Commissioners, obliging his Master to enter as a principal into the same alliance, so soon as some pretensions he has from the Emperor and Spain are satisfied by our good offices between them. After which Count Dona parted as Ambassador likewise from that Crown for England, where the rest of that affair will be negotiated; and in his company my brother Henry Temple, with the whole account of my business, and the treaties signed in order to their ratification, for which a month is allowed, though the States promise theirs within fifteen days after the date. When those arrive and are exchanged, I return to my residence at Brussels, to see the issue of this business, which now takes up the thoughts and discourse of all Christendom, and from which most Princes will resolve to take their measures.

I suppose my Lord Sandwich upon his way, and therefore content myself only with giving you this trouble, and the professions of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 29, N. S. 1668.

May it please your Majesty,

IN my last passage hither, I had the honour of trying your Majesty's yacht, in such a storm as that never felt before, and a greater no man in her pretended ever to have seen. The fortune of your Majesty's affairs helped us to the discovery of a pilot-boat at a distance from the coasts, that brought us happily in; without which, we had passed such another night at sea, as I should not care to do for any thing your Majesty could give me, besides your favour, and the occasions of serving you: if we had miscarried,

ried, your Majesty had lost an honest diligent Captain and sixteen poor seamen, so beaten out with wet and toil, that the compassion, I had then for them, I have still about me, and assure your Majesty, that five or six more will be necessary for your yacht, if you use her to such passages as this; but, for the rest, I believe there is not such a boat in the world. She returns with a long but final and happy account of my business to my Lord Arlington, and with the Count de Dona, who will be better company than a long ill letter, and deserves your Majesty's welcome by his other qualities, as well as his particular devotions for your Majesty's person and service.

I cannot end this letter without congratulating with your Majesty upon the success of your resolution which occasioned my journey hither, and which is generally applauded here as the wisest and happiest, both for your kingdoms and your neighbours, and the most honourable to your Majesty's person, that ever was taken, upon any occasion, by any Prince: and the strange success of it hath been answerable to the rest of your Majesty's fortunes, and so amazing, that the expressions made of it here, every hour, are altogether extraordinary, not to say extravagant.

God of heaven continue your Majesty's good health, and good counsels, and good fortunes; and then I shall have nothing more to wish, but that you may pardon the faults, and accept of the humble and hearty devotions of, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To Monsieur Gourville.

Hague, Feb. 7, N. S. 1668.

I Have just received (by the Rhingrave's favour) yours of the 28th past, and am extreme

A Monsieur de Gourville.

De la Haye, 7 Fevr. S. N. 1668.

J'E viens de recevoir, par les soins obligeans de Monsieur le Rhingrave, votre lettre du 28

treme glad to have yet ſome place in your memory, after ſo many diverſions in Germany, which uſe to make one forget things of much greater importance. But all this was neceſſary to comfort me for your abſence, which I believe you have ordered, with deſign for all my journeys into Holland; this is now the third I have made ſince that of Breda, without ever meeting you there; you, I ſay, who are not able to live three months without going thither, though you are forced for it to leave the Ladies and the orange-trees at Bruſſels.

I can tell you no news; the Duke of Lunenburg's Reſident having aſſured me that he has ſent you word of the concluſion of our treaty here, whereof I every day expect the ratifications. They will needs have me paſs here for one of great abilities, for having finiſhed and ſigned in five days a treaty of ſuch importance to Chriſtendom: but I will tell you the ſecret of it: to draw things out of their center requires labour and addreſs to put them in motion; but, to make them return thither, nature helps ſo far, that there needs no more than juſt to ſet them

28 *du paſſé*; *& je me rejouïs extremement d'occupier encore quelque place dans votre ſouvenir, après tant de divertiſſemens goutez en Allemagne*; *ce ne ſeroit pas la premiere fois qu'ils auroient fait oublier des choſes plus importantes que ma perſonne: mais il ne falloit pas moins que les plaiſirs que je ſay que vous avez goutez, & la nouvelle marque que vous me donnez de votre amitié, pour me conſoler de votre abſence*; *je croy au reſte que vous l'aviez concertée avec tous mes voyages en Hollande*; *car voici le troiſieme que j'y fais depuis celuy de Breda, ſans vous y trouver, vous diſje, qui ne pouviez paſſer trois mois ſans y aller, quand même il auroit fallu pour cela quitter vos orangers & les mignonnes de Bruxelles.*

Je n'ay point de nouvelles à vous mander; *le Reſident de Lunebourg m'ayant aſſuré qu'il vous avoit appris la concluſion du traité que nous avons fait icy: j'attens de jour en jour les ratifications. On veut à toute force me faire paſſer icy pour habile homme, à cauſe que j'ay achevé & ſigné en cinq jours un traité ſi important pour toute la Chrétienté: mais je vous diray le ſecret*; *quand on arrache les choſes de leur centre, il faut du tems & de la peine, & même de l'addreſſe pour les faire mouvoir*; *mais lors qu'il n'eſt queſtion que de les y ramener, la nature y aide ſi puiſſamment, qu'il*

ne

them a-going. Now, I think, a ſtrict alliance is the true center of our two nations. There was alſo another accident, which contributed very much to this affair, and that was, a great confidence ariſen between the Penſioner and me; he is extremely pleaſed with me, and my ſincere open way of dealing; and I with all the reaſon in the world am infinitely pleaſed with him upon the ſame ſcore; and look on him as one of the greateſt genius's I have known, as a man of honour, and the moſt eaſy in converſation, as well as in buſineſs. In ſhort, the two nations are cloſer united than if there never had been a war. For affairs in general I can tell you nothing, but that our common deſign is to give peace to all Chriſtendom, ſo that if France pleaſes, they may have it this ſpring; if not (as Monſieur d'Eſtrades ſays, at leaſt not after our faſhion) they may have their fill of the war. For the convention at Aix, I can tell you nothing till we get an anſwer from France and Bruſſels, where we have already ſent advice of our defenſive league, and of our treaty or project of the peace.

ne faut quaſi que leur donner le branle: or, je croy qu'une étroite alliance eſt le centre de nos deux nations. Il y a encore un accident qui a fort contribué à cette affaire; c'eſt la parfaite confiance qui nous a reciproquement uni, Monſieur le Penſionnaire & moy: il ſe loue de moy & de ma maniere d'agir, qui, comme vous ſavez, eſt toujours franche & ouverte; & moy, je me loue infiniment de luy; j'en ay toutes les raiſons du monde, & je dois à toute ſa conduite les éloges qu'il donne à la mienne: je le regarde comme un des plus grand genies que j'ay connus, avec cela, très homme de bien; d'un commerce également aiſé ſoit dans les negotiations, ſoit dans la converſation. Enfin la confiance eſt preſentement retablie entre les deux nations; & je la croy même plus entiere que s'il n'y avoit jamais eu de guerre. Pour les affaires générales, je ne vous ſaurois dire autre choſe, ſi non, que notre deſſein unanime eſt de donner la paix & la tranquillité à toute la Chrétienté; de ſorte que ſi la France le veut, elle l'aura ce printems; ſi elle ne le veut pas (ainſi que dit Monſieur le Comte d'Eſtrades, qui ajoute, que du moins ce ne ſera pas d'une paix de notre façon) elle aura tout ſon ſaoul de guerre. Touchant la convention à Aix juſqu' à ce que nous ayons reſponſe de France & de Bruxelles, je ne vous en ſaurois rien dire. Nous leur

This

avons

This at least may serve for a new health at your German feasts, when the old ones are gone round; and will at the same time help to put you in mind of, Sir, your, &c.

avons deja donné avis de notre ligue defensive, & de notre traité ou projet de paix.

Du moins cecy servira à fournir une nouvelle santé dans vos festins Allemans, lorsque les anciennes auront fait leur ronde accoutumée; & cela vous fera en même tems souvenir de, Monsieur, votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 12, N. S. 1668.

THE arrival of the ratifications here was received with the same dispositions of general satisfaction and joy, that the treaty was concluded: those of the States will, I doubt, be something later ready, though occasioned only by a delay in the assembly of the States of Friezland and Zealand; but new dispatches were yesterday sent away for hastening both; and Monsieur de Witt assures me, the 20th of this month will be the latest I shall expect them, and he hopes all may be ready something sooner. I shall press it all I can possibly, and, immediately after the exchange made, shall demand my audience of *Congé*, and away to Brussels to pursue his Majesty's instructions there; I cannot tell with what success, because I know not with what mien the Marquis has entertained our project of the peace, not yet having heard one word from him in answer to all I have writ upon this subject. I wish some of his visions may not give it another face than what it ought, I am sure, to receive from the true present state of the Spanish affairs; for, in that case, I know his way of arguing so well, as to expect he should say there is no reason for them to give money to lose their towns; but that, in case his Majesty will enter into their defence,

he ſhall want no money the Indies can give him; therefore, he muſt be plied on that ſide by the Count of Moſina and Baron de l'Iſola, as well as by me here; and not only diſpoſed to accept the alternative, but to receive it as the greateſt effect at preſent of his Majeſty's good-will to the preſervation of Flanders, and ſtep towards a future defenſive league between us and them, and Holland, for the general ſafety of the Spaniſh Crown.

Though I ſhall not fail of my part in preſſing all theſe points on this ſide, yet the impreſſions will be eaſier given the two Miniſters there than the Marquis here, as perſons ſomething more ſubſtantial in their conceptions upon this point; and will have more weight upon his Excellency, coming from their own Miniſters, than from me: for the point of money to be furniſhed by the States upon the towns of Guelderland, the whole matter was diſmiſſed by Monſieur de Witt till the Marquis's acceptance of our project was declared; upon which the Baron de Bargeyck will return to purſue it, and, in caſe of a war, by obſtinacy of the French refuſal, I doubt not but the matter will be eaſy, the Marquis offering Ruremond and Venlo, though Monſieur de Witt inſiſts, as yet, upon the fort of Gelre, and two others by Sluys, which the Marquis ſays he has no power to treat upon.

For their opinion of the French expedition into the Franche Compté they ſeem little ſtartled at it, believing it may the more incline the Spaniards to receive our offices for the peace according to the treaty; and that poſſibly ſome exchange may be found convenient for the Spaniards between parts of the Franche Compté and thoſe towns of Flanders which are now in the French poſſeſſion, and lie in the very bowels of the reſt of that dominion; which are Courtray, Tournay, Oudenard, and Aeth; for the reſt, they reſolve to make good the peace to the Spaniards, without the loſs of

any

any thing more, than was actually in the French hands at the time of our treaty being ſigned, whatever new progreſſes they may make before the concluſion; and, in caſe France ſhall refuſe, or ſeek evaſions, I do not believe they will be the leaſt backward from entering into the war.

I ſhould formerly have marked that all which is digeſted in our treaty, and that is to paſs in our negotiation with France upon this occaſion, the States avoid calling our parts a mediation; becauſe they ſay that ſeems to import a neutrality, whereas, upon the failing of our offices towards a peace, we are to take our parts in a war.

For the method and manner of our joining together in purſuit of the war, if it grow to engage us by the French refuſal, Monſieur de Witt tells me frankly his opinion is, for us to enforce the towns of Flanders by ſuch of our troops as will be neceſſary to defend them, or at leaſt to draw on long and expenſive ſieges, and, in the mean time, with our ſeveral fleets, to make the ſharpeſt impreſſions we can upon ſome of their coaſts, and ſeize ſome of their towns, and force them that way to neceſſary diviſions and diverſions of their forces, as well as give countenance to whatever diſcontents may ariſe among them at home, upon ſuch an occaſion. Upon my arguing that an impreſſion would be the ſharper and the ſafer, perhaps, if it were made by our fleets in one place, but with joint forces; he ſaid, he did not ſee how our fleets could poſſibly join, for the point of the *pavillon*; and fell into a good deal of diſcourſe upon that matter, as the only, now left, that could ever occaſion any diſpute among us; being, at length, bottomed upon our mutual intereſt, and the wrangling about little points of commerce being taken away. All I could draw from him upon the point of the *pavillon* was, that they would give all to the King's ſhips at

ſea, which theirs or any other Ambaſſadors gave to his own perſon in his kingdom, where his dominion was as abſolute as he could pretend it to be in the narrow ſeas; which is, to uncover firſt, and cover laſt; ſo that all their ſhips ſhould vail to ours when they met, in caſe ours would in return take down the *pavillon* as a civility to theirs afterwards; and theirs ſhould remain vailed, till we had ſet up our *pavillon* again. I told him I could ſay nothing to that matter, which I knew was very delicate; but that, if ever we agreed in that point, I thought it muſt not be by articles or treaties, but by concert between the Miniſters of each ſide; as for the States, firſt to give abſolute orders to all their Captains to vail to the King's ſhips, whenever they met them in the narrow ſeas; and, at the ſame time, to ſignify ſo much to his Majeſty in a letter of compliment, and as a reſolution taken upon conſideration of ſo near and happy an alliance, as was now entered into between the nations: upon which his Majeſty might conſider, what returns of civility he would be content his Captains ſhould make an ally ſo near, as this State was now likely ever to be to the Crown of England.

Monſieur de Witt was willing to fall into any expedient, and ſaid, that, whenever I came into England, he would hope I might bring this laſt matter to paſs as happily as I had done all the reſt; that his Majeſty ſhould find he would be wanting in nothing that the point of civility or deference might require in this matter, provided it were without acknowledgeing our pretenſions to the dominion of the ſea, which they muſt die rather than do; but, in what ſhould paſs, they would leave us to our interpretations, and keep themſelves to theirs.

For the proviſional articles, according to my word, which made way for the treaty's concluſion, I told Monſieur de Witt his Majeſty had in his anſwer given

ven me leave to do it, with an article for the meeting of Commiſſioners, at both parties deſire, to complete what ſhould be defective, and change what ſhould be found inconvenient, and cut off any thing that ſhould be ſuperfluous, ſo as it might appear to be an original treaty between us, which would be more for our honour than to copy after the French: that, though his Majeſty had given me this leave, in compliance to the States, yet he had rather the thing ſhould now be left to Commiſſioners for theſe ends, than concluded with reference to them hereafter. I made his Majeſty's conceſſion in this point eaſy for theſe two ends; that either they, finding his Majeſty indifferent in it, might grow ſo too; men being commonly apt to pull the harder, the faſter another holds: or elſe (if they reſolved to inſiſt upon it, ſince I was already engaged) to value a thing which coſts his Majeſty nothing for as much obligation as I could to the States, which might make way for ſome material return upon another occaſion.

Monſieur de Witt ſeemed very much pleaſed at his Majeſty's compliance with them in this point; and ſaid, if I knew his Majeſty's pleaſure in any particulars which he deſired ſhould be added, or any others changed for common convenience, he deſired me to tell him, and doubted not but we ſhould end it in twenty-four hours; but he was unwilling it ſhould fall into other hands, or remain undone, for the reaſons I mentioned in one of my laſt. After much diſcourſe, and no way left to avoid the thing, we agreed it ſhould be done, but with an ample article for the meeting of Commiſſioners for thoſe foreſaid ends; and, after the perpetuity, I will endeavour to get in theſe words, *Aut quouſque ſaltem ex utriuſque partis conſenſu indicentur commiſſarii*, or ſome words to that purpoſe. And likewiſe, in the preamble of this ſeparate inſtrument, ſome expreſſions of this kind: *Ut omnibus innoteſcat quam ſincerâ ſanctâque fide nuper contractæ*

amicitiæ, non modo in præſens, ſed in poſteros, colendæ cavere voluerunt: and, *ad divellenda penitus quæcunque non modo diſſenſionum, ſed et litium et altercationum ſemina:* and, *ad præcidendam ſpem omnem, et expectationem, quorumcunque, prædictam amicitiam novis altercationibus labefactatam iri, intereſſe poſſit.* Which are things that come now only into my head, but ſhall be digeſted againſt we meet to-morrow upon this occaſion. And this is all that is poſſible for me to do in this matter, and which at leaſt is likely to haſten the exchange of the ratifications, and to leave our alliance the cleareſt, firmeſt, and moſt confident, that can be. I confeſs I am troubled that it cannot be otherwiſe, becauſe your Lordſhip ſays, his Majeſty would rather have had it ſo: and, if you had not ſent me, after the treaty's arrival, an explanation of what was written to me in an unintelligible cypher, it had been ſo, and my words had been ſafe; but I think it had been worſe in leaving a diſſatisfaction between us, which is now avoided: and I find my Lord Keeper, in a letter to me, ſeems to put no weight upon it, if done in the manner mentioned; and I know you both put a great deal upon any perſon's (employed by his Majeſty) being, and paſſing for, an honeſt man.

No poſt going from hence till the end of the week, I have reſolved to diſpatch this by the yacht that brought over my brother, whoſe orders it ſeems are to return immediately: but I know not how to find the ſafe conveyance for the Dutch ratifications, unleſs another yacht be ſent for them about a week or ten days hence; and to that end I ſhall leave them with Mr. Carter at my Lord Craven's houſe here, and who does all his Lordſhip's buſineſs, who ſhall deliver them to any perſon that brings a letter from your Lordſhip to that purpoſe. This, I think, will be much better, than to venture them with me in my journey

journey to Bruſſels, or upon a paſſage from thence.

I am ever, my Lord, yours, &c.

P. S. I had forgot the mention of this incloſed memorial, given in yeſterday to the States, and by their order ſent me with a compliment, They would receive nothing without communicating it to me: they reſolve, upon the Marquis's anſwer for the treating at Aix, to ſend likewiſe thither, but refer the qualities or number of perſons to the Marquis's intentions of going himſelf, or ſending ſome delegate; and that I ſuppoſe will depend upon Don Juan's coming over. In the mean time, the States are abſolutely of opinion with me, that no treaty can begin with good intentions on the French ſide, unleſs they conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms while it laſts; and therefore, that the force of our joint inſtances at Paris is to be put upon that point.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 12, N. S. 1668.

I Received by my brother the honour of your Lordſhip's, and therein the teſtimony of your favour to me in a manner ſo obliging, and indeed altogether extraordinary, that I know as little how to acknowledge, as to deſerve it; and therefore I ſhall not enlarge myſelf upon a ſubject, where I am ſure not to ſucceed as I deſire; but leave it to time, and the conſtancy of my ſervices, to expreſs how very ſenſible I am of what I owe, and how great a value I place upon that part your Lordſhip is pleaſed to allow me in your good opinion and memory, of which I beg the continuance, eſteeming them among the very beſt of my poſſeſſions.

I have written to my Lord Arlington at large, upon the confidence of this ſafe conveyance by the return

of the yacht, which will give your Lordſhip your ſhare of trouble, but, withal, a full proſpect of the diſpoſitions here, and conſequently the preſent as well as future ſtate of our alliance, if it be purſued with the ſame directneſs it has been contracted; and the happy continuance whereof, I am perfectly of your Lordſhip's mind, is the true intereſt of both nations, and will be the ſureſt ſupport of his Majeſty's honour, and the kingdom's ſafety, as well as ſatisfaction. The expreſſion your Lordſhip pleaſes to make, of endeavouring, in your ſtation, the inviolable obſervation of it, I ſhall value, before I part, to Monſieur de Witt and the other Commiſſioners, as it deſerves, which will be eaſy to do: for I dare ſay very truly, that the general opinion, conceived here of your Lordſhip's and my Lord Arlington's honour and ſincerity, and unbiaſſed purſuit of the true intereſt of the kingdom, has very much contributed to the ſucceſs of my late negotiation, and been indeed the ſpring of any honour, that your Lordſhip or any others may attribute to me in the conduct of it.

It will not become me to take no notice of thoſe repeated offers your Lordſhip pleaſes to make, in a faſhion ſo extremely obliging, to favour me in any of my own concernments; and therefore I ſhall humbly recommend to you the countenancing my wife in her purſuing the payment of my ordinary allowances while I am abroad; ſince the narrowneſs of my own fortunes (while it pleaſes God to continue my father's life to us) will not ſuffer me to ſerve his Majeſty without troubling him, as I am forced to do, whenever five or ſix months of my ordinaries are grown in arrears. Therefore, upon your Lordſhip's engagement, I will tell my wife, ſhe may beg your countenance to her when ſhe begins her next purſuit of that kind; and, that you may the more confidently own your favouring me in this point, I will aſſure your Lordſhip,

Lordſhip, his Majeſty ſhall never be troubled with any purſuits of mine, farther than what he has pleaſed to make my due, by any ordinary eſtabliſhment, though lower than that of a much cheaper country, as I am informed; but that is very indifferent to me; for I am perfectly content to live juſt in the poſture his Majeſty thinks fit I ſhould, while I ſerve him; and very willing to ſpend his allowance and my own revenue, but no more; which is the plain truth of my ſtory. And, I doubt, now the funds at Antwerp fail, out of which I have been hitherto paid by my Lord Arlington's favour to me, ſomething againſt the Commiſſioners inclination, I may find longer attendances upon the Exchequer, for that is grown or growing due, than my occaſions will ſuffer, which makes me uſe this liberty to your Lordſhip; though I ſhould not have done it, had you not now twice, and of yourſelf, encouraged me.

For the obliging meſſage my brother brought me likewiſe from your Lordſhip's favour to me, beſides my acknowledgements, I ſhall only ſay that [a] what your Lordſhip pleaſed to mention, would be as agreeable to my inclinations as any thing I know; but I ſhall never preſume to aſk any thing of that kind from his Majeſty, no more than of any other, referring my ſtation, and every thing elſe, wholly to his pleaſure and choice, while I have the honour of ſerving him: beſides, I find every body here and in Flanders deſigns another poſt for me, at leaſt for a month or two this ſpring, if the treaty happens to be at Aix; believing, that, having had ſo much part in what has been done already, I am likely to have ſome part in that too: and I confeſs, becauſe people are fallen into this thought, I may take the contrary for a mark of his Majeſty's not being ſatisfied with me in what is paſt; and, becauſe I am by advance inſtructed in the

[a] It was that he ſhould be Secretary of State.

buſineſs,

buſineſs, and acquainted with perſons, I ſhould be very well pleaſed with it, if his Majeſty finds none to ſerve him better, eſpecially if, by the Marquis's going thither himſelf, his Majeſty ſhould find it fit to ſend a perſon of great quality to maintain the port of the employment, and give me my part under his ſhade.

I am aſhamed to have ſaid all this of myſelf and my concernments; and beſeech your Lordſhip to remember, that you have drawn it all from me; and, after that, to forget it all, if you pleaſe. For, to ſay the truth, I am very well as I am, being of ſo dull a complexion, that I do not remember any ſtation or condition of life I have been in theſe dozen years, which I have not been pleaſed with, and a little unwilling to leave. However, what thoughts of this kind your Lordſhip ſhall have of me, I deſire you will pleaſe to communicate them to my Lord Arlington, to whoſe favour I have been long obliged: and whatever your two Lordſhips ſhall think fit in my diſpoſal, will be ever perfectly welcome to, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 13, N. S. 1668.

SINCE the writing of your Lordſhip's letter, and the ſealing up of my Lord Arlington's pacquet, I have been ſo far preſſed by my Monſieur de Witt, to ſend him the article for meeting Commiſſioners, I deſired might be added to the proviſional articles in a new inſtrument, that I have been fain to digeſt it as well as I could, according to my Lord Arlington's inſtructions and your Lordſhip's ſince given me in your letter. I thought fit likewiſe to draw up a preamble to it, whereby it might appear, that the intention of this agreement was only an effect of our mutual kindneſs, and for prevention of any diſputes that might poſſibly ariſe to interrupt it, and for cutting off

off all our enemies hopes ever to see us any more make way for their ends by our future dissension. I will send your Lordship a copy on the other side of this sheet, of both preamble and article, which I have been forced to draw up as hastily as I could; and hope, if Monsieur de Witt thinks fit to pass it in this form, it will be in all points of more honour and advantage to us, even than to have had it all omitted. I desire your Lordship to communicate all this to my Lord Arlington, and to excuse this trouble, by reason of his Lordship's pacquet being already sealed up. I am ever, &c.

Procœmium tractatûs inter Anglos et Hollandos, Feb. 13, 1668.

QUandoquidem, annuente divinâ gratiâ, et conspirante mutuarum rerum salute, æquè ac christiani orbis jam temporis necessitate vigesimo tertio die Januarii proximè elapsi, inter serenissimum ——— et ——— conclusum et signatum sit fœdus perpetuum defensivum, fortissimis utrinque tam mari quam terrâ præstandis auxiliis communitum. Eodemque die alioque instrumento, de rerum vicinarum tranquillitate, paceque orbi christiano restituendâ, inter prædictum ——— et ——— pronis animis consultum et conventum fuerit, adeoque nihil aliud protinus supereſſe videatur, quod tam mutuâ voluntate conflatam amicitiam et necessitudinem ullo demùm tempore interpellare poterit, præter controversias de mercimoniorum speciebus hinc inde rediger.dis forsitan orituras, et ex incertâ vel ambiguâ ejusmodi rerum utrinque adjudicatione forsitan etiam promovendis. Quo autem omnibus innotescat quàm sincerâ sanctâque fide prædictus — et — nuper conflatæ amicitiæ non modò in præsens sed et ad posteros colendæ cavere voluerint, jamdemum ad divellenda quæcunque non modò dissensionum sed vel altercationum semina, præcidendamque penitus eorum spem aut expectationem quorumcun-

que demùm prædictam amicitiam novis litibus concussam aut labefactatam iri, interesse poterit: in subsequentes articulos utrinque conventum est, qui pro normâ et regulâ ejusmodi rerum maritimarum et mercaturæ hinc inde redigendæ mutuò et perpetuò observabuntur, aut quousque saltem ex utriusque partis arbitrio et consensu Commissarii indicentur et conveniant, ad uberiorem eis de rebus omnibus navigationisque legibus tractatum, et communi utrinque commodo et ulteriore experientiâ dirigendum.

Sequuntur articuli.

Concluſio.

CUM autem rerum omnium et conventionum commoda aut incommoda non nisi tractu temporis mutuæque experientiæ documentis penitùs indagari poterunt; conventum itaque est ut quocunque demùm tempore utrique parti id visum fuerit, ex communi consensu indici et convenire poterunt utrinque delegati Commissarii, quorum curæ erit et operis quodcunque in suprà memoratis articulis defeciſſe reperietur, supplere, quodcunque autem incongruum et utrinque incommodum, mutare aut circumscribere, et uberiorem demùm hisce de rebus omnibus tractatum absolvere prorsus et perlimare.

To the States at firſt audience.

High and Mighty Lords,

WHereas his Majesty of Great Britain, the King my Master, hath already found the good effects of the late peace, concluded at Breda with your High and Mighty Lordships, by the general satisfaction of his Majesty's subjects, as well as his own, and doubts not but your Lordships have likewise found the same effects among your people in general, as well as among yourselves: his Majesty esteems nothing more

more likely to increaſe the mutual ſatisfaction, nor to aſſure the ſafety of both nations, than an increaſe of the confidence and friendſhip already contracted between his Majeſty and your Lordſhips, by a ſtricter and firmer alliance at this time.

And, whereas his Majeſty, contented with thoſe great and powerful kingdoms and dominions, which Almighty God has given him by an undiſputed ſucceſſion, covets nothing from his neighbours, nor has other thoughts or wiſhes, beſides thoſe of the common peace and repoſe of Chriſtendom; his Majeſty finds himſelf, in this conjuncture, ſenſibly touched by the calamities ſo many others are like to feel from the continuance of the war lately broken out between the neighbour Crowns, and which, in courſe of time, cannot but involve moſt of the Princes and States of Chriſtendom, unleſs the flame be quenched before it riſe too high. And his Majeſty believes, that nothing can ſo much contribute towards a ſafe and ſudden compoſure of that quarrel, nor conſequently reſtore the peace of Chriſtendom, as a joint mediation of his Majeſty with your High and Mighty Lordſhips (together with each other's allies) between the two Crowns, now in war.

Upon theſe two conſiderations, his Majeſty hath thought fit to ſend me to your Lordſhips with full powers to treat and conclude upon what ſhall be found neceſſary, between his Majeſty and your Lordſhips, in the adjuſtment of all matters tending to theſe great ends. And ſince nothing can bring theſe negotiations to be of effect, ſo much as the ſuddenneſs of their concluſion, I deſire your Lordſhips to appoint ſuch Commiſſioners as you ſhall think fit, with whom I may fall upon the treaty of theſe matters, and to whom I am ready to expoſe the full powers which his Majeſty, the King my Maſter, has given me upon this occaſion.

At

At my Audience of Leave to the States-General.

High and Mighty Lords.

HIS Majesty of Great Britain the King my Master, having seen so happily finished, and in so few days, three several treaties with your High and Mighty Lordships; by which the common security of both nations is established, the seeds of all new differences entirely rooted out, and the way laid open to the peace of Christendom, in case our neighbours proceed with the same good faith, wherewith we have begun; his Majesty thinks he has no farther occasion for my services here, because Ministers are only proper for fastening and cementing a confidence and friendship; whereas ours is so firmly established, as not to require any, even the most ordinary supports.

For this reason, his Majesty has ordered my return to Brussels, there to pursue, in concert with your Lordships, in favour of our neighbours, what we have here concluded for ourselves. But his Majesty has commanded me, upon my departure, to assure your Lordships from him, that, as all things are best preserved by the same means they are begun, so his Majesty will not fail for ever

A mon Audience de congé aux Estats Géneraux.

Hauts et Puissans Seigneurs,

SA Majesté le Roy de la Grande Bretagne mon maître, ayant vû conclurre si heureusement, & en si peu de jours, trois divers traitez avec V. H. & P. S. par lesquels la sureté commune des deux nations vient d'être retablie; les semences de toutes les nouvelles discordes entierement deracinées, & le chemin à la paix & au repos ouvert pour la Chretienté, en cas que nos voisins s'y portent avec la même foy & la même franchise qui nous l'a deja fait acheminer; sa Majesté croit n'avoir plus besoin de moy en ce lieu, puisque les Ministres ne servent & ne sont propres qu'à cimenter et entretenir la confiance; mais la nôtre se voit établie sur de si solides fondemens qu'elle n'aura plus besoin des appuis ni des aides ordinaires.

C'est pourquoy sa Majesté ordonne mon retour à Brussselles, pour y poursuivre de concert avec V. S. en faveur de nos voisins, ce que nous venons de conclurre icy pour nous mêmes: mais elle m'a commandé sur mon depart d'assurer V. S. de sa part, que comme une chose n'est jamais mieux conservée que par les principes qui l'ont fait naitre, aussi sa Majesté ne manquera pas d'observer constamment tout

ce

ever to obſerve what he has now concluded, with the ſame faith, the ſame ſincerity, and the ſame open heart, wherewith he gave command they ſhould be negotiated: and his Majeſty doubts not at all, that your Lordſhips are entirely reſolved to proceed after the ſame manner, which is the higheſt mark of a perfect confidence to be given at preſent.

For my own particular, I cannot part from hence, without expreſſing my ſatisfaction at the ſincere and judicious proceeding of your High and Mighty Lordſhips in the whole courſe of theſe negotiations; and particularly at the great prudence you have ſhewn in the choice of thoſe Commiſſioners you gave me. Their candour and ſincerity, their great capacity and application, did contribute very much to the quick and happy concluſion of our treaties. For my own particular, as I ſhall ever bear in mind, with joy and pleaſure, this ſhort ſpace of time I have paſſed with your Lordſhips, in whatever part of the world I may be; ſo I ſhall always contribute by my good wiſhes, and whatever ſervices I may be capable of, to the ſupport of this good intelligence, ſo happily reſtored between both nations. In the mean time, God Almighty take your High and Mighty Lordſhips into his holy protection.

ce qui vient d'être conclu, & cela avec autant de bonne foy, avec la même ſincerité, & la même droiture de cœur, qu'on luy a vû temoigner lors qu'elle l'a fait negocier: et ſa Majeſté ne doute point que V. S. ne ſoient entierement reſolus à tenir la même conduite à ſon égard; & c'eſt là le dernier ſçeau qui doit être appoſé de part & d'autre à nos traitez pour preuve d'une parfaite confiance.

Pour ce qui me regarde en particulier, je ne ſaurois ſortir d'icy ſans me louër hautement de la judicieuſe & ſincere conduite de vos H. & P. S. dans tout le cours de cette negociation, & particulierement de l'extrême prudence que vous avez fait paroître dans le choix de meſſieurs les Commiſſaires que vous m'avez donnez. Leur candeur, leur capacité conſommée, leur ardeur, & leur application pour l'affaire propoſée, n'ont pas peu contribué au bonheur & à la rapidité de la concluſion de nos traitez. Pour moy, comme je me ſouviendray, toute ma vie avec joye, & même avec tendreſſe, du court eſpace de tems que j'ay paſſé près de V. S. auſſi dans quelque lieu du monde que je ſois appellé à paſſer ma vie, je ne negligeray jamais de contribuer par mes vœux, par toutes ſortes de ſoins, & de ſervices dont je me croiray capable, au maintien de cette mutuelle intelligence que je vois ſi heureuſement rétablie entre les deux nations. Cependant je prieray Dieu ardemment de prendre vos H. & P. S. ſous ſa ſainte protection.

A Letter from the States to the King of Great Britain.

Feb. 18, N. S.

SIR, 1668.

IT is merely in compliance to cuſtom, that we do ourſelves the honour to write to your Majeſty, in anſwer to the letter you were pleaſed to ſend us, relating to Sir William Temple: For we can add nothing to what your Majeſty has ſeen yourſelf of his conduct, by the ſucceſs of the negotiation committed to his charge. As it is a thing without example, that, in ſo few days, three ſuch important treaties have been concluded; ſo we can ſay, that the addreſs, the vigilance, and the ſincerity of this Miniſter, are alſo without example. We are extremely obliged to your Majeſty, that you are pleaſed to make uſe of an inſtrument ſo proper for confirming that ſtrict amity, and good intelligence, which the treaty at Breda had ſo happily begun: and we are bold to ſay, that, if your Majeſty continues to make uſe of ſuch Miniſters, the knot will grow too faſt, ever to be untied; and your Majeſty will ever find a moſt particular ſatisfaction by it, as well as we, who, after our moſt hearty thanks to your Majeſty for this favour, ſhall pray God, &c. and remain, Sir, &c.

A Letter

Lettre de Recréance de la part des Eſtats, au Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Le 18 de Fevr. *S. N.*

SIRE, 1668.

CE n'eſt que pour ſatisfaire à la coûtume que nous nous donnons l'honneur d'écrire à vôtre Majeſté, en réponſe de la lettre qu'il luy a plû nous écrire au ſujet de Monſieur le Chevalier Temple; car nous ne pouvons rien ajoûter à ce que vôtre Majeſté même a vû de ſa conduite, par le ſuccés de la negociation qui luy avoit été confiée. Comme c'eſt une choſe ſans exemple que dans ſi peu de jours trois ſi importans traitez ont été ajuſtez, auſſi pouvons-nous dire que l'adreſſe, la vigilance, & la ſincerité de ce Miniſtre ſont auſſi ſans exemple. Nous ſommes bien fort obligez à V. M. de ce qu'il luy a plû ſe ſervir d'un inſtrument ſi propre à achever d'étreindre le nœud d'amitié & de bonne intelligence que le traité de Breda avoit commencé à ſerrer: et nous oſons dire, que ſi elle continue d'employer de ſemblables Miniſtres, le lien deviendra indiſſoluble, & elle en tirera toujours une ſatisfaction toute particuliere auſſi bien que nous, qui après l'avoir remercié de tout nôtre cœur de cette faveur, prierons Dieu, &c. Sire, &c.

Monſieur

A Letter from Monsieur de Witt to my Lord Arlington.

Feb. 14, *N. S.*

My Lord, 1668.

AS it was impossible to send a Minister of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper and genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple; so, I believe, no other person, either will, or can, more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the States to answer the good intentions of the King of Great-Britain. Sir William Temple ought not to be less satisfied with the readiness wherewith the States have passed over to the concluding and signing of those treaties for which he came hither, than they (the States) are with his conduct, and agreeable manner of dealing in the whole course of his negotiation. It appears, my Lord, that you thoroughly understand men, and bestow your friendship only upon such as deserve it, since you cause persons to be employed who acquit themselves so worthily. I think myself happy to have negotiated with him, and that, by his means, your Lordship hath been pleased to give me a new testimony of your goodwill. For the favour you say his Majesty is pleased to have for me; I have

Monsieur de Witt à Milord Arlington.

Le 14 *Fevr.*

Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

COmme il n'étoit pas possible d'envoyer icy un Ministre plus capable ni plus propre pour le naturel & le genie de cette nation que Monsieur le Chevalier Temple; aussi croy je que l'on n'auroit pas pû choisir une personne qui puisse ou veuille plus équitablement juger de la disposition en laquelle il a trouvé les Etats à repondre aux bonnes intentions du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Il ne doit pas être moins satisfait de la promptitude avec laquelle les Etats ont passé outre à la conclusion & signature des traitez pour lesquels il est venu icy; qu'ils sont de sa conduite, & de sa belle maniere d'agir en toute la suite de sa negociation. Il paroit, Monsieur, que vous vous connoissez en hommes, & que vous ne donnez vôtre amitié qu' à ceux qui la meritent, puisque vous faites employer des personnes qui s'acquittent si dignement. Je m'estime heureux d'avoir eu à negocier avec luy, & de ce que par son moyen il vous a plû me donner un nouveau temoignage de votre bienveillance. Pour ce qui est de la bonté que vous dites que sa Majesté a pour moy; je ne l'ay merité point que par le respect que j'ay pour sa personne Royale,

no otherways deserved it, than by my respects for his Royal person, whereof I shall endeavour to give proofs upon all occasions his Majesty will please to afford me. In the mean while, I shall wait with impatience for some opportunity to shew how sensible I am of all your Lordship's civilities, which I shall ever acknowledge, by a true esteem for your merits, and by a strong passion to let you see, that I am, with as much sincerity, as you can desire, my Lord, your, &c.

dont je tacheray de luy donner des preuves à toutes les occasions qu'elle me fera la grace de m'en faire naître. J'attens bien avec autant d'impatience celles où je vous puisse temoigner combien je suis sensible à toutes vos civilitez, que je reconnoitray toujours par un veritable estime pour vôtre merite, & par une très fort passion de vous faire voir que je suis avec autant de sincerité que vous pouvez desirer, Monsieur, votre, &c.

The Triple Alliance copied from the original papers.

WHereas, by the late treaty concluded at Breda, between the King of Great Britain and the States General of the United Netherlands, both nations have been restored, through the blessing of God, to that ancient friendship and good correspondence which was between them: and in order to cut off all occasions of farther differences, and to prevent all new accidents, which might tend to the disturbance of the said amity and good correspondence of the subjects on either part, some articles and rules of navigation and commerce were there agreed; and particularly, by the eleventh article of the said treaty, it was ordained, that

Factum tripliciter conventum.

QUandoquidem pactis, non ita pridem Bredæ inter Magnæ Britanniæ Regem, & fœderati Belgii Ordines generales, conclusis, pristina inter utramque nationem amicitia ac bona correspondentia annuente divina gratia restituta, adeoque ad præcidendam omnem omninò in posterum novis dissidiis ansam, atque ad prævenienda nova inter utriusque partis subditos accidentia, quæ dictam amicitiam ac bonam correspondentiam turbare aliquando possint, in articulos quosdam legesque navigationis ac commerciorum ibidem consensum atque speciatim undecimo dicti tractatûs articulo statutum sit, uti dic-

tus

5 the

the ſaid King, and the ſaid States-General, ſhall be obliged as friends, allies, and conſederates, mutually to defend the rights and immunities of each other's ſubjects, againſt all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to diſturb the peace of either State by ſea or by land, or ſuch as, living within the dominions of either, ſhall be declared public enemies by the one or the other: and becauſe it is not particularly determined, in what way and manner the ſaid confederates ſtand obliged mutually to ſuccour each other; and that it is the fixed reſolution of the ſaid King of Great Britain, and of the ſaid States-General, more and more to corroborate and accompliſh the ſaid agreement: therefore in the firſt place, and above all other things, they conſent to confirm the ſaid treaty concluded at Breda, together with the ſaid laws of navigation and commerce relating to the ſame, as by theſe preſents they are confirmed, under a mutual and undiſſoluble obligation to obſerve and accompliſh them truly and faithfully, and to command the ſubjects on both ſides exactly and religiouſly to obſerve and fulfil them according to the genuine ſenſe and tenor of the ſaid treaty and articles: and for the better aſcertaining the mutual aſſiſtance that the parties are to give each

tus Dominus Rex, dictique Domini Ordines Generales, maneant amici confœderati neceſſitudine et amicitiâ, conjuncti et aſtricti, ad jura atque immunitates ſubditorum alterutrius contra quoſcunque demum tuendas, qui utriuſve ſtatus pacem terra marive diſturbare conabuntur, vel qui infra alterutra dominia degentes publici utriuſque ſtatus hoſtes denunciabuntur; neque tamen ſpecificè definita reperiantur media, auxiliave, quibus fœderatorum pars una alteri, tali in caſu, ſuccurrere debeat: dicto autem magnæ Britanniæ Regi, dictiſque Ordinibus Generalibus, ſtet ſententia iſthæc pacta corroborandi magis, magiſque perficiendi, placuit imprimis atque ante omnia, dictum tractatum Bredæ concluſum, dictaſque leges navigationis ac commerciorum eo ſpectantes confirmare, quemadmodum per præſentia confirmantur, obligatione mutua atque indiſſolubili eas bona fide obſervandi atque adimplendi, jubendique ut à ſubditis utrinque exactè atque religioſè obſerventur atque adimpleantur, juxta genuinum dicti tractatûs dictorumque articulorum ſenſum ac tenorem. Ut autem præterea de ſpecialiore auxiliorum mutuò præſtandorum

each other, which was omitted in the preceding treaty; for increasing amity and friendship between the said King and States-General, and that full provision may be made by a nearer alliance and union, for the safety and mutual defence of both States, against the pernicious endeavours and hostile attempts of any enemy under any pretext whatever: We whose names are under written, in virtue of the orders and full powers granted to us, and hereunder to be inserted, do covenant and agree, that the said King of Great Britain, and the said States-General of the United Netherlands, shall be mutually obliged, united, and confederated together, as they are by the force and virtue of these presents mutually obliged, united, and confederated in a perpetual league defensive, in the manner, and under the conditions following.

I.

That, if any Prince, State, or other person whatever, without exception, shall under any pretext, invade, or attempt to invade the territories, countries, or any places that lie within the dominions of the said King of Great Britain, or shall exercise any acts of hostility by sea or by land, against the said King or his subjects, the said States-General

designatione prioribus pactis omissa, pro amicitia inter dictum Dominum Regem, dictosque Dominos Ordines Generales incremento majori constet, utque securitati et defensioni mutuæ utriusque status contra infestos conatus vel insultus hostiles à quoquam forte quocunque demum sub prætextu instituendos, arctiori fœdere atque unione plenè prospiciatur; nos infra scripti, virtute mandati plenæque potestatis nobis concessæ atque inferius inserendæ convenimus atque statuimus dictum Dominum magnæ Britanniæ Regem, dictosque Dominos fœderati Belgii Ordines Generales, invicem obstrictos, unitos atque confœderatos fore; quemadmodum vi ac vigore præsentium invicem obstricti, uniti atque confœderati sunt, fœdere defensivo perpetuo, modo atque conditionibus sequentibus.

I.

Quod si Principum Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiscunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, sub quocunque prætextu invaserit, vel invadere tentaverit, territoria, regionesque, aut loca quælibet sub ditione dicti magnæ Britanniæ Regis sita, aliumve quemcunque actum hostilem terra marive contra dictum Dominum Regem ejusve subditos exercuerit; dicti Domini

ral ſhall be obliged, as by virtue of theſe preſents they are obliged, to ſend forty ſhips of war, well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, to aſſiſt the ſaid King to oppoſe, ſuppreſs, and repel, all ſuch inſults and acts of hoſtility, and to procure him due reparation for any damages ſuſtained: that is to ſay, fourteen of the ſaid ſhips ſhall carry from ſixty to eighty great guns, and four hundred men, a juſt allowance and computation being made, as well with reſpect to thoſe ſhips that carry a greater, as thoſe that carry a leſſer number of men: fourteen other ſhips ſhall carry from forty to ſixty guns, and, one with another, three hundred men at the leaſt, allowance to be made as before, and none of the reſt to carry leſs than ſix and thirty guns, and a hundred and fifty men. Beſides which, they ſhall aſſiſt him with ſix thouſand foot ſoldiers, and four hundred horſe, or ſhall pay a ſum of money with due regard to the juſt value of ſuch an aſſiſtance, either for the whole, or a part, at the choice of the ſaid King. All theſe aids ſhall be furniſhed within ſix weeks after they ſhall be demanded; and the ſaid King ſhall reimburſe the whole charge to the ſaid States, within three years after the concluſion of the war.

Domini Ordines Generales tenebuntur, quemadmodum virtute præſentium tenentur, dicto Domino Regi, ad inſultus eos actuſque hoſtiles arcendos, ſupprimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adeſſe quadraginta navibus bellicis probè inſtructis; quarum quatuordecem à ſexaginta ad octoginta tormenta bellica majora, hominesque quadringentos ferant ſingulæ, facta juſta compenſatione aut retributione inter eas quæ numeroſiore, et eas quæ minus numeroſo milite nautaque inſtructæ erunt: quatuordecem aliæ à quadraginta ad ſexaginta tormentis, hominibuſque ad minimum trecentis, facta compenſatione ut ſupra, inſtructæ ſint quælibet: et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta ſex tormenta, hominesque centum et quinquaginta; atque inſuper ſex mille peditibus, et equitibus quadringentis; vel valore juſto hujuſmodi auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dicto Domino Regi eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti auxilii, aut dicti valoris in pecunia, quæ à dicto Domino Rege expetetur. Præſtabuntur autem dicta auxilia intra ſex ſeptimanarum ſpatium poſtquam poſtulata fuerint; dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus à dicto Domino Rege refundentur impenſæ omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto bello numerandum.

II.

That, if any Prince, State, or other perſon whatever, without exception, ſhall, under any pretext, invade, or attempt to invade, the United Provinces, or any places ſituated within the juriſdiction of the ſaid States-General, or garriſoned by their ſoldiers; or ſhall exerciſe any act of hoſtility by land or by ſea, againſt the ſaid States-General or their ſubjects; the ſaid King ſhall be obliged, as by virtue of theſe preſents he is obliged, to ſend forty ſhips of war well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, to aſſiſt the ſaid States-General, to oppoſe, ſuppreſs, and repel, all ſuch inſults and acts of hoſtility, and to procure due reparation for any damages ſuſtained by them: that is to ſay, fourteen of the ſaid ſhips ſhall carry from ſixty to eighty great guns, and four hundred men; a juſt allowance and computation being made, as well with regard to thoſe ſhips that carry a greater, as thoſe that carry a leſſer number of men: fourteen other ſhips ſhall carry from forty to ſixty guns, and, one with another, three hundred men at the leaſt; allowance to be made as before; and none of the reſt to carry leſs than ſix and thirty guns, and a hundred and fifty men. Beſides which, he ſhall aſſiſt them

II.

Quod ſi Principum Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiſcunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, ſub quocunque prætextu invaſerit, vel invadere tentaverit Provinc as Confœderatas, aut loca quælibet ſub ditione dictorum Dominorum Ordinum Generalium ſita, vel in quibus ipſorum miles præſidio poſitus eſt, aliumve quemcunque actum hoſtilem, terra marive, contra dictos Dominos Ordines Generales, eorumve ſubditos exercuerit; dictus Dominus Rex tenebitur, quemadmodum virtute præſentium tenetur, dictis Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus ad inſultus eos actuſque hoſtiles arcendos, ſupprimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adeſſe quadraginta navibus bellicis probè inſtructis: quarum quatuordecem à ſexaginta ad octoginta tormenta bellica majora, hominesque quadringentos ferant ſingulæ; factâ juſtâ compenſatione aut retributione inter eas quæ numeroſiore, et eas quæ minus numeroſo milite nautaque inſtructæ erunt: quatuordecem aliæ, à quadraginta ad ſexaginta tormentis, hominibuſque ad minimum trecentis, factâ compenſatione ut ſupra, inſtructæ ſint quælibet: et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta ſex tormenta, hominesque centum et quinquaginta: atque inſuper

them with ſix thouſand foot ſoldiers, and four hundred horſe, or ſhall pay a ſum of money, with due regard to the juſt value of ſuch an aſſiſtance, either for the whole or a part, at the choice of the ſaid States. All theſe aids ſhall be furniſhed within ſix weeks after they ſhall be demanded: and the ſaid States ſhall reimburſe the whole charge to the ſaid King, within three years after the concluſion of the war.

inſuper ſex mille peditibus, et equitibus quadringentis; vel valore juſto hujuſmodi auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dictis Dominis Ordinibus eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti auxilii, aut dicti valoris in pecunia, quæ ab iiſdem expetetur. Præſtabuntur autem dicta auxilia intra ſex ſeptimanarum ſpatium poſtquam poſtulata fuerint: dictoque Domino Regi à dictis Dominis ordinibus refundentur impenſæ omnes intra triennium à finito atque extincto bello numerandum.

III.

The ſaid ſhips of war, and the ſaid auxiliary forces of horſe and foot, together with the commanders of the ſhips and forces, and all the ſubaltern officers of both, that ſhall be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the party injured and attacked, ſhall be obliged to ſubmit to his pleaſure, and be obedient to the orders of him or them, who ſhall be appointed to command the armies in chief, either by ſea or by land.

III.

Dictæ naves bellicæ, ac dictæ equitum peditumque copiæ auxiliares, naviumque et copiarum præfecti, ceterique officiales bellici minores, vim atque injuriam paſſo ſubmiſſi, ejus voluntatem reſpicere tenebuntur, atque obſequi mandatis ejus eorumve, quos ſumma cum poteſtate exercitui ſuo terra marive præficere voluerit.

IV.

Now, that an exact computation may be made of the charges that are to be reimburſed within the ſpace of three years after the concluſion of the war; and that the value of ſuch aſſiſtance may be adjuſted in ready money, which poſſibly the party attacked may

IV.

Quo autem exacta computatio inſtitui poſſit impenſarum, intra trium annorum ſpatium poſtquam bello finis impoſitus fuerit, reſtituendarum; vel etiam juſti earundem valoris in pecunia numerata, quam vim hoſtilem paſſo, loco dictarum navium, equitum, peditumque,

may chuſe, either for the whole or a part of the ſaid ſhips, horſe and foot; it is thought expedient, that the fourteen ſhips carrying from ſixty to eighty pieces of cannon ſhould be valued at the ſum of eighteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds Sterling, or of Engliſh money; the other fourteen which carry from forty to ſixty guns, at fourteen thouſand pounds Sterling; and the remaining twelve, at ſix thouſand pounds of the ſame money: ſix thouſand foot, at ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds Sterling, and four hundred horſe, at one thouſand and forty pounds, for one month; the money to be paid by the ſaid King of Great Britain at London, and by the ſaid States-General at Amſterdam, according as the courſe of the exchange ſhall be at the time when payment is to be made. But, in conſideration of the ſix thouſand foot ſoldiers, the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds Sterling ſhall be paid within the firſt month, to defray the expence of liſting and providing the men.

vel omnium vel pro parte eligere forte placuerit; viſum fuit impenſas quatuordecem navium à ſexaginta ad octoginta tormentis inſtructarum, æſtimare pretio octodecem millium ſexcentarum et ſexaginta ſex librarum Sterlings, ſive monetæ Anglicanæ; earumque quatuordecem quæ à quadraginta ad ſexaginta tormenta ferunt, quatuordecem millibus libris Sterlings; reliquarum autem duodecem, ſex millibus ejuſdem monetæ libris: ſex mille autem pedites, ſeptem millibus et quingentis libris Sterlings: Quadringentos vero equites, mille quadraginta ejuſdem monetæ libris: pro quolibet menſe computandis: nummique à dicto quidem Domino Rege magnæ Britanniæ, Londini, à Dominis verò Ordinibus Generalibus Amſtelodami ſolventur, juxta curſum cambii eo tempore quo ſolutio præſtanda erit: pro primo autem menſe reſpectu peditum ſupradictorum, inſuper perſolventur ſex mille libræ Sterlings, pretium nimirum ad eos conſcribendos inſtruendoſque neceſſarium.

V.

This league, with all and every thing therein contained, ſhall be confirmed and ratified by the ſaid King of Great Britain, and the ſaid States-General

V.

Fœdus hoc, omniaque et ſingula eo contenta, à dicto Domino Rege magnæ Britanniæ, dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Fœderatarum Provinciarum,

General of the United Provinces, by letters patents of both parties, ſealed with their great ſeal in due and authentic form, within four weeks next enſuing, or ſooner, if it may be; and the mutual inſtruments of ratification ſhall be exchanged on each part within the ſaid time.

ciarum, per patentes utriuſque partis literas ſigillo magno munitas debita et authentica forma, intra quatuor ſeptimanas proximè ſequentes, aut citius, ſi fieri poterit, confirmabitur et ratihabebitur, mutuaque ratihabitionum inſtrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Here follows a copy of the powers granted by the moſt ſerene King of Great Britain, &c.

Sequitur tenor mandati à ſereniſſimo Domino Rege magnæ Britanniæ dati.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all, &c.

Carolus, Dei gratia, Angliæ Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, fidei defenſor, &c. Omnibus, &c.

A copy of the powers granted by the High and Mighty Lords, the States-General of the United Netherlands.

Sequitur tenor mandati, à Celſis et Præpotentibus Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Fœderati Belgii dati.

The States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, to all thoſe, &c.

Les Etats Genereaux des Provinces Unies des Païs-Bas, à tous ceux qui ces preſentes, &c.

In witneſs and confirmation of all and every part of this treaty, we, whoſe names are underwritten, have ſubſcribed and ſealed the ſame, at the Hague in Holland, the 23d of January, 1668.

In quorum omnium et ſingulorum fidem majuſque robur, hiſce tabulis ſubſcripſimus, illaſque ſigillis noſtris ſubſignavimus, Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia die 23tio Januarii, anni 1668.

Signed on the King of England's part,

W. Temple.

Signed on the King of England's part,

W. Temple.

On

On

On the part of the States,

Gellicom.
Aſperen.
J. de Witt.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Jac. Van Coeverden.
K. Iſbrants.

THE King of Great Britain, and the States-General of the United Netherlands, having with great grief conſidered, and maturely weighed, the miſeries and calamities of the late war between the two crowns, which raged in their neighbourhood; and having obſerved that the flames of that fire have inſinuated themſelves among their neighbours, which, by inevitable neceſſity, will involve the greateſt part of the Princes and States of Chriſtendom in the ſame calamities, unleſs they may be timely extinguiſhed, before they gather greater force; have thought that they could not diſcharge the duty of that truſt, and the reſpective offices, wherein they are placed by God, if, after the re-eſtabliſhment of a mutual friendſhip and alliance between the nations of Great Britain and the United Netherlands, and the concluſion of a peace between the four powerful States that were parties in that bloody war, they ſhould not apply their

On the States part,

Gellicom.
Aſperen.
Johan de Witt.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Ja. Van Coeverden.
K. Iſbrants.

REX Magnæ Britanniæ, atque Ordines Generales Fœderati Belgii, reputantes atque apud animum expendentes ſummo cum dolore miſerias calamitateſque belli, quod nuper inter duas Coronas in finibus exarſit, quodque neceſſitate quadam ineluctabili maximam partem Principum atque Statuum Chriſtiani orbis iiſdem involvet malis, ſerpente incendii iſtius flammâ ad vicinos, niſi tempeſtivè et in principio extinguatur: exiſtimarunt ſe nullatenus functuros partibus officii muneriſque ſibi à Deo mandati, ſi poſt feliciter inſtauratam amicitiam ſub auſpiciis divini Numinis, et reductam veterem neceſſitudinem inter magnam Britanniam et fœderatum Belgium, eodemque tempore ſtabilitam pacem inter quatuor potentes ſtatus, qui cruenti iſtius belli partes fuerunt, animum non applicent ſeduló omnique

their minds with the utmoſt diligence and induſtry, to compoſe the differences that have ariſen between the ſaid two Crowns, and more eſpecially to take care, that the flames of that war, which have been kindled in their neighbourhood, may be extinguiſhed. Therefore the moſt ſerene King of Great Britain, and the High and Mighty States of the United Netherlands, having, with much labour and earneſt intreaty, induced the moſt Chriſtian King to profeſs ſolemnly to the ſaid States-General, that he would immediately lay down his arms, if the Spaniards would either conſent to yield up to him, in due form and manner by a treaty of peace, all thoſe places and forts, together with the Chaſtellanies and their dependencies, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of in the expedition of the laſt year; or will be perſuaded to transfer and make over to him all the right that remains to them in the Duchy of Luxemburgh (or elſe in the county of Burgundy) together with Cambray and the Cambreſis, Doway, Aire, St. Omer, Winoxbergen, Furnes, and Lincken, with their bailiwicks, Chaſtellanies, and other dependencies; and, in caſe they accept the alternative laſt mentioned, the moſt Chriſtian King will reſtore to the King of

omnique induſtria ad componenda diſſidia quæ oborta ſunt inter prædictas duas Coronas, præſertim ut memorati in finibus belli flamma ſopiatur. Proinde, cum ſereniſſimus magnæ Britanniæ Rex, et Celſi præpotenteſque Ordines fœderati Belgii, poſt multum operis inſumptum, variaſque obteſtationes, obtinuerint à Chriſtianiſſimo Rege, ut profeſſus ſit dictis Ordinibus Generalibus ſe ex hoc tempore arma depoſiturum, dummodo Hiſpani parati ſint illi rite atque ſolenniter cedere per tractatum pacis omnia loca et munimenta, ut et caſtellanias cum annexis, quæ armis in expeditione præcedentis anni occupavit aut munivit; vel ut Hiſpani permoveantur in eum tranſcribere omne jus quod illis reſtat in Ducatu Luxemburgico (ſive Comitatu Burgundii) præter Cameracum cum Cameraceſio, Duacum, Ariam, Fanum St. Audomari, Bergas St. Vinoci, Furnas, et Linckium, cum Bailluatibus, Caſtellaniis, cæteriſque quæ inde pendent: Regemque Chriſtian. poſteriori caſu, reſtituturum Regi Hiſpaniæ

of Spain all such places and territories as the French have possessed by their arms since they entered Flanders: provided the High and Mighty States-General shall on their part promise, and render themselves gurantees to the most Christian King, that they will, by their reasons, and other effectual means, induce the Spaniards to agree to these conditions. The said King of Great Britain, and the said States-General, jointly conclude and judge, that they can do no better service in this conjuncture and state of affairs, either to the two Kings before named, or to the rest of the neighbouring Princes and States, than by their joint counsels and utmost endeavours, to exhort, and, as much as in them lies, oblige the said two Crowns to make peace, upon the terms and conditions before-mentioned. To which end we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having received full power to that effect, have, by virtue of those injunctions, concluded and agreed the following articles.

I.

That the King of Great Britain, and the States-General of the United Netherlands, shall either jointly or separately (provided their intentions be mutually communicated, and

niæ omnia loca ditionesque, quæ Galli armis ex quo Flandriam ingressi sunt occupavere; ea lege ut Celsi et Præpotentes D D. Ordines Generales reciprocè caveant, regemque Christian. securum reddant, se effecturos apud Hispanos rationibus aliisque momentis, ut in easdem consentiant leges; arbitrati sunt se hac tempestate, atque hoc rerum articulo optimam navaturos operam non modo utrique præfatorum Regum, sed et aliis Principibus et Statibus vicinis; si conjunctim communicatis consiliis collatisque operis adhortentur, et quantum suarum virium est permoveant sæpius dictas duas Coronas, ad ineundam pacem legibus atque conditionibus supra memoratis; in quem finem facta nobis, qui has tabulas subsignavimus, potestate cum libera, ex præscripto mandatorum nostrorum convenimus de articulis et capitibus sequentibus.

I.

Quod Rex magnæ Britanniæ, et Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, conjunctim vel separatim, communicatis tamen omnino consiliis, et secundum ea de quibus mutuò convenerint, omnem

and no way repugnant to this agreement) uſe their utmoſt endeavours and induſtry with the moſt Chriſtian King, to perſuade him to promiſe and engage in the beſt form, and by a ſolemn treaty, to the King of Great Britain, and to the States-General of the United Netherlands, that he will conclude a peace and alliance with the King of Spain, without any exception or reſerve, under whatever pretext, or for whatever cauſe; if the King of Spain ſhall be induced or perſuaded, by the King of Great Britain and the confederated States, to yield to the moſt Chriſtian King, either the places he poſſeſſed himſelf of the laſt year in the Low-Countries, or to give him an equivalent, by delivering up the places above-mentioned, or others in lieu of them, as ſhall be mutually agreed between the parties concerned.

omnem operam omnemque induſtriam adhibebunt, apud Regem Chriſtianiſſimum ut in optima legitimaque forma, ſolenni tractatu ſpondeat et promittat Regi magnæ Britanniæ, et fœderati Belgii Ordinibus Generalibus, ſe pacis fœdus facturum cum Rege Hiſpaniæ, citra omnem, quocunque ſub prætextu, vel quacunque de cauſa, exceptionem vel diſpenſationem; ſi Hiſpaniæ Rex induci aut permoveri queat per Regem magnæ Britanniæ, et Ordines fœderatos, ut cedat Regi Chriſtianiſſimo, aut loca anno præterito in Belgica armis occupata, aut aliud tantundem valens, per traditionem locorum ſuperius memoratorum aliorumve in compenſationem, de quibus mutuo conſenſu partes inter ſe convenire poterunt.

II.

That the moſt Chriſtian King be induced to conſent, that the preſent ceſſation of arms in the Low-Countries may be prolonged to the end of the month of May, to the end that the King of Great Britain and the confederated States may, in the mean time, employ themſelves with all diligence, care, and induſtry, to procure the conſent of the King or Queen of Spain, and their

II.

Ut Rex Chriſtianiſſimus conſentire velit in prorogationem vacationis armorum in Belgica ad finem menſis Maii, ut temporis interea Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines ſedulò omnique induſtria et diligentia operam dare poſſint apud Regem aut Reginam Hiſpaniæ, ejuſque conſiliarios, uti legibus conditionibuſque præfatis conſenſum adhibere velint.

III. *Ut*

their council, to the aforesaid terms and conditions.

III.

But, that the most Christian King may have no just occasion to refuse to prolong the cessation of arms, the King of Great Britain and the confederated States shall oblige themselves, by the same treaty, to take effectual care, that the Spaniards shall yield to France all that was taken the last year by the French, or give them an equivalent, as shall be agreed with the consent of both parties.

III.

Ut verò Rex Christianissimus nulla justa ratione dictam armistitii prorogationem recusare queat, Rex Magnæ Britanniæ Ordinesque fœderati se eodem tractatu obstringent, id se effecturos ut reapse Galliæ cedatur ab Hispanis omne quod Gallorum armis anno præterito occupatum fuit, aut aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo partium consensu convenietur.

IV.

That the most Christian King shall be induced and persuaded to give entire credit to, and put full confidence in, the aforesaid promise, that his arms may not, for the future, disturb the quiet of the Low-Countries: so that if it should happen, contrary to all hope and expectation, that the King of Great Britain and the confederated States shall not be able by their exhortations and earnest solicitations to persuade the Spaniards to give their consent to the conditions above-mentioned, before the end of the next ensuing May; and that it become necessary to use more effectual means to that purpose: nevertheless the French shall not move or introduce their arms within,

IV.

Quod Rex Christianissimus inducetur et permovebitur dicto promisso plenam adhibere fidem, atque in eo fiduciam ponere velit, et ut proinde ejus arma in posterum quiescant in Belgica, ita quidem ut si præter omnem spem et expectationem Rex Magnæ Britanniæ fœderatique Ordines nequeant per exhortationes obtestationesque permovere Hispanos ante finem mensis Maii proximi, ut consensum adhibeant conditionibus sæpius memoratis, ac proinde ad media majoris efficaciæ venire necesse sit; nihilominus Galli intra fines et in finibus dictæ Belgicæ sua arma non movebunt

within, or upon, the limits of the Low-Countries; but the King of Great Britain and the confederated States ſhall engage, and take upon themſelves ſuch neceſſary proviſion, as may effectually oblige the Spaniards to accept the foreſaid conditions of peace: and it ſhall not be left to the diſcretion of the moſt Chriſtian King, either to exerciſe any acts of hoſtility in the ſaid countries, or to poſſeſs himſelf of any town, though by voluntary ſurrender; unleſs the King of Great Britain and the confederated States ſhall ceaſe and omit to proſecute the things above-mentioned.

bunt aut introducent: ſed Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines ſe obſtringent, atque in ſe recipient id ſeſe ſuppleturos quod neceſſum erit, ut Hiſpani reapſe aſtringantur uti pacem legibus ſupradictis accipiant; adeoque Regi Chriſtianiſſimo integrum non erit ullos exercere actus hoſtiles in dictis regionibus, neque ullum occupare oppidum licet ſponte ſua ſe dedere velit, niſi Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines ceſſent atque omittant efficere id quod jam dictum eſt.

V.

That, when the peace is made between the two crowns, not only the King of Great Britain, and the Confederated States, but likewiſe the Emperor, and all the neighbouring Kings and Princes, who ſhall think themſelves concerned that the quiet of Chriſtendom remain unſhaken, and the Low-Countries be reſtored to the enjoyment of their former tranquillity, ſhall be guarantees and conſervators of the ſame; to which end, the number of forces, and other means to be uſed againſt either of the parties that ſhall violate or infringe the ſaid peace, ſhall be determined and agreed, that the injury

V.

Quod, ſancita inter duas Coronas pace, ejus ſervandæ ſponſores vindiceſque erunt in forma omnium optima, ampliſſima et ſecuriſſima, non modo Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, et fœderati Ordines, ſed et Imperator, omneſque Reges et Principes vicini, qui exiſtimabunt ſuâ intereſſe ut orbi Chriſtiano inconcuſſa maneat quies, et Belgicæ ſua reddatur conſtetque tranquillitas: in quem finem definietur copiarum militarium numerus, aliaque media quibus utendum erit adverſus alterutram partium quæ temeraverit vel violaverit pacem, ut injuriam damat ac parti læſæ reſarciat.

VI.

injury may ceaſe, and the party offended receive ſatisfaction.

VI.

That this agreement, with all and every thing therein contained, ſhall be confirmed and ratified by the ſaid King of Great Britain, and the ſaid States-General of the United Provinces, by letters patents on both ſides, ſealed with the great ſeal in due and authentic form, within four weeks next enſuing, or ſooner, if it can be done; and within the ſaid time the mutual inſtruments of ratification ſhall be exchanged on both ſides.

In witneſs and confirmation of all which, we, whoſe names are under-written, have ſubſcribed and ſealed the ſame. At the Hague in Holland, the 23d of January, 1668.

Signed as before.

VI.

Pacta hæc conventa omniaque et ſingula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriuſque partis literas ſigillo magno munitas, debita et authentica forma, intra quatuor ſeptimanas proximè ſequentes, aut citius ſi fieri poterit, confirmabuntur et ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum inſtrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

In quorum omnium et ſingulorum fidem majuſque robur, hiſce tabulis ſubſcripſimus, illaſque ſigillis noſtris ſubſignavimus. Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia 23tio die Januarii, 1668.

Signed as before.

Separate Articles, which ſhall be of the ſame Force and Authority, as if they had been inſerted in the Treaty concluded this Day between the King of Great Britain and the States-General of the United Netherlands.

Articuli ſeparati, qui ejuſdem erunt virtutis atque authoritatis, ac ſi inſerti forent tractatui hodierno die, inter Regem Magnæ Britanniæ et Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, concluſo.

I.

IF, in the procuring of a peace between France and Spain, any difficulty ſhould ariſe

I.

SI in procuranda pace inter Galliam et Hiſpaniam ſe offerat aliqua difficultas ſuper punctu

rise about the point of the renunciation; it is to be so contrived, that either no mention at all is to be made of it in the treaty; or, at least, the form is to be conceived and set down in such words, as nothing may accrue to either of the two Crowns, on account of the said renunciation; nor any prejudice be created to either of them in point of right: but, if either the King of Spain, or the most Christian King, refuse their consent to this expedient; then the King of Great Britain, and the confederated States, shall proceed against the refuser, as is agreed by the third and fourth article of the treaty, and in the last of these articles respectively; with this condition however, that, in case such refusal proceed from the King of Spain, the most Christian King shall oblige himself not to make war in the Low-Countries, according to the tenor of the fourth article.

puncto renunciationis, ea ineunda est ratio, ut vel nulla ejus in pactis fiat mentio, vel ut ejusmodi verbis concipiatur formula, ut neutræ duarum Coronarum quoad prædictam renunciationem eo quicquam accedat, aut etiam inde creetur aliquod juris detrimentum: quod si verò Rex Hispaniarum, vel etiam Rex Christianissimus, in id consentire nolint, adversus recusantem Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines procedent; ut conventum est articulo tertio et quarto dicti tractatûs, et ultimo horum articulorum respectivè: ea tamen conditione, ut, in casu recusationis Regis Hispaniæ, Rex Christianissimus se reciprocè obstringat, quemadmodum in articulo quarto, se nullatenùs arma moturum in Belgica.

II.

That the King of Great Britain, and the States-General of the United Netherlands, to the end that all parties may be satisfied, shall oblige themselves to use their utmost endeavours, that a peace may at the same time be established between the Kings of Spain and Portugal; but with this condition, that the most Chris-

II.

Quod Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, et Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, ut prolixius ab omni parte satisfiat, se obligabunt omnem sedulò operam daturos, ut pax inter Reges Hispaniæ et Lusitaniæ eodem tempore sanciri possit; eâ tamen lege ut vicissim Gallia se obstringat, si

tam

tian King shall also oblige himself, in case this negotiation cannot be so soon accomplished, that such a delay shall no way hinder, on his part, the peace between him and Spain; except only, that it shall be free for the said most Christian King to give succour and aid to the King of Portugal, his ally, either by way of attack, that he may draw the enemy from other parts, or by any other means which he shall judge to be most convenient and advantageous. And, if the Spaniards can be brought to consent to a peace under the said condition, and the same be concluded accordingly; then the most Christian King shall be obliged wholly to abstain from the Low-Countries, as possessed of peace, and not involved in the disputes of either party. Neither shall it be lawful for him to form any designs against them, either by open force or clandestine practices; nor to require any satisfaction, under the pretext of charges and expences to be sustained on account of the war in Portugal, either for raising men, or any other burthen of that war. And, if it should happen that, during the said war, the auxiliary forces of the most Christian King should possess themselves of any places in Spain or Italy; the said most Christian King shall restore them

tam cito non possit id negotium perduci ad exitum, uti pax inter se et Hispaniam nihilominus ineatur; hoc excepto, ut liberum sit Regi Christianissimo suppetias ferre Regi Lusitaniæ fœderato suo, eique auxilio esse, sive inferendo arma sua ut aliunde detrahat hostem, sive alio quocunque modo quem sibi commodissimum atque maximè ex usu fore existimabit. Et si Hispani adduci poterunt ut consentiant in pacem sub dicta conditione, atque ea proinde concludatur; Rex Christianissimus tenebitur, à Belgica ut pacata, atque neutrarum partium rebus implicata, omnino abstinere; neque ei jus fasque erit quidquam adversus eam moliri, neque palam virtute bellica, neque clandestinis artibus; ut ne petere ullam satisfactionem sub obtentu impensarum erogationumque quæ in bello Lusitanico erunt faciendæ, tam ob delectum militum, quam alia belli onera. Quod si contingat manente dicto bello per auxiliares Regis Christianissimi copias, occupari loca quædam in Hispania Italiave; Rex Christianissimus simulatque pax cum Lusitania facta fuerit, eadem restituet

them to Spain, as ſoon as the peace with Portugal ſhall be made. But if, beyond and contrary to expectation, Spain ſhould refuſe to make peace with the King of Portugal, and alſo with the moſt Chriſtian King, under that exception, of leaving him free to aſſiſt his confederate, as has been already ſaid; in this unexpected caſe, the King of Great Britain, and the confederated States, ſhall be bound to employ themſelves effectually to procure the conſent of the Spaniards: yet with this proviſion, that the moſt Chriſtian King do alſo oblige himſelf not to make war in the Low-Countries, as in the former caſe is already ſaid.

III.

But, if, beyond all expectation, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould entertain ſuch thoughts as ſhall induce him to refuſe to promiſe, that he will ſign the treaty of peace as ſoon as the Spaniards ſhall conſent to give up all thoſe places which have been acquired by him in his laſt expedition, or ſuch an equivalent as ſhall be agreed by mutual conſent; or in caſe he ſhall not accompliſh his promiſe, or ſhall diſallow or reject the cautions and proviſions that are expreſſed in the ſaid treaty, which are ſo neceſſary to obviate the fears and jealouſies that are moſt juſtly con-

tuet Hiſpaniæ: ſed ſi, præter et contra expectationem, Hiſpania recuſet pacem cum Rege Luſitaniæ, ut et cum Rege Chriſtianiſſimo, ea cum exceptione ut fœderato ſuo liberum ſit ei auxiliari, quemadmodum jam dictum eſt; hoc inopinato caſu Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines tenebuntur reapſe id efficere ut Hiſpani omnimodò in id conſentiant: ita tamen ut reciprocè Rex Chriſtianiſſimus ſe obſtringat quemadmodum caſu primo, quod non ſit moturus arma in Belgica.

III.

Si præter omnem expectationem Rex Chriſtianiſſimus inducat in animum ut promittere nolit quod tractatum pacis ſignaturus ſit, ſimulatque Hiſpani ceſſuri ſint omnia loca ab eo occupata in noviſſima expeditione, vel aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo conſenſu convenietur; aut promiſſorum fidem non impleat, aut detrectet reſpuatve cautiones et præmunimenta in dicto tractatu expreſſa, quæ neceſſaria ſunt ut obviam eatur metui juſtiſſimè concepto, ne Rex

conceived of the moſt Chriſtian King's intentions to make a farther progreſs with his victorious arms into the ſaid Low-Countries, ſo often already mentioned: In all theſe caſes, and alſo if he ſhould endeavour by any ſubterfuges or oblique practices to hinder or elude the concluſion of the peace; then England and the United Netherlands ſhall be bound and obliged to join themſelves to the King of Spain, and with all their united force and power to make war againſt France; not only to compel him to make peace upon the conditions aforeſaid; but, if God ſhould bleſs the arms taken up to this end, and favour them with ſucceſs, and if it ſhould be thought expedient to the parties concerned, to continue the war till things ſhall be reſtored to that condition in which they were at the time when the peace was made upon the borders of both kingdoms, in the Pyrenean mountains.

Chriſtianiſſimus arma ſua victricia in ſæpius memorata Belgica ulteriùs proferat: quod omnibus iſtis caſibus, ut et ſi per alia ſubterfugia aut obliquas artes conetur pacis concluſionem impedire aut eludere; Anglia fœderatumque Belgium tenebuntur accedere partibus Regis Hiſpaniæ, omnibuſque et junctis viribus terra marique adverſus Galliam bellum gerere; ut compellatur non in leges duntaxat ſæpius jam memoratas pacem facere; ſed ſi arma in eum finem ſumpta Deum habeant faventem et propitium, atque de communi conſenſu id expedire viſum fuerit, etiam bellum continuare, donec res in eum ſtatum fuerint reſtitutæ quo fuerunt tempore fœderis in collimitio regnorum in montibus Pyrenæis ſanciti.

IV.

Theſe ſeparate articles, with all and every thing therein contained, ſhall be confirmed and ratified by the ſaid King of Great Britain, and the ſaid States-General of the United Provinces, by letters patents of both parties, ſealed with their great ſeal in due and authentic form, within four

IV.

Articuli hi ſeparati, omniaque et ſingula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriuſque partis literas ſigillo magno munitas, debita et authentica forma, intra quatuor ſeptimanas

four weeks next enſuing, or ſooner if it may be; and within the ſaid time, the mutual inſtruments of ratification ſhall be exchanged on both ſides.

Done at the Hague in Holland, the 23d of Jan. 1668.
Signed as before.

ſeptimanas proximè ſequentes, aut citius ſi fieri poterit, confirmabuntur, et ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum inſtrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia, die 23. Jan. 1668.
Signed as before.

The Swediſh Act.

WHereas the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, have earneſtly deſired, that the King of Sweden might be aſſociated with them, as one principal party, in that league which is this day concluded, and ſigned by their Commiſſioners and Plenipotentiaries; whereby a ſpeedy and ſafe peace may be promoted and made between the two neighbouring Kings, and the public tranquility of Chriſtendom, by the bleſſing of God, may be reſtored: and whereas the King of Sweden himſelf, even from the beginning of theſe differences, which have grown to ſuch a height between the two Kings, has acquainted the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands, with his good and ſincere intentions and deſire to aſſociate and join himſelf to them in the buſineſs above-mentioned, as well in regard of the ſtrict friendſhip and alliances, which he

CUM magnæ Britanniæ Rex, ac Ordines Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum, valde deſiderarint Regem Sueciæ unà cum ipſis in partem principalem adſciſci illius fœderis, quod hodierno die per Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios ſuos concluſum ſignatumque eſt; quo prompta atque tuta pax inter Reges duos vicinos promoveatur, quoque Divinâ adſpirante gratiâ per orbem Chriſtianum publica tranquillitas inſtauretur: præterea cum Rex ipſe Sueciæ jam ab initio eorum motuum qui inter duos deſignatos Reges cruduerunt, tam Magnæ Britanniæ Regi, quam fœderatorum Belgarum Ordinibus, ſit teſtatus bonum ſincerumque ſuum propoſitum ac ſtudium, quo tenebatur, ſeſe cum iis in hoc negotio modo ſupradicto ſociandi ac jungendi; idque reſpectu arctiſſimæ neceſſitudinis, et horum fœderum per

he acknowledges have joined him in one common intereſt with them, as that, by his acceſſion to them, all uſeful and honourable means and induſtry may be uſed to eſtabliſh a peace between the two Kings: profeſſing that no other difficulty has hitherto reſtrained him from opening his mind upon that whole matter, than that he waited to be informed, what firm and deliberate counſels the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands, would take in this affair, and what aſſiſtance would be requiſite, with other things of that kind, in which the ſaid King of Sweden deſires to be ſatisfied, to the end that he may proceed by the like ſteps, and in equal manner with the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands: for theſe reaſons it is thought expedient for the common good, that the preſent inſtrument between the Miniſters, Deputies and Plenipotentiaries of the ſaid Kings of Sweden and Great Britain, and thoſe of the ſaid States of the United Netherlands, be put down in writing, whereby, on the one hand, the King of Sweden ſhall be obliged, after the foreſaid ſatisfaction received, to embrace the ſaid league, to uſe the ſame endeavours, and to proceed equally, and in the like manner, as the ſaid King of

quæ communibus cum iiſdem commodis adſtringi ſe agnoſcit, ut per hunc interventum, perque modos utiles quoſcunque ac honeſtos, paci inter binos Reges ſtabiliendæ inſudetur: nec per ullam difficultatem ſeſe hactenus cohibitum, mentem ſuam ſuper re totâ aperiendi, niſi quod præſtolatus eſt dum certo reſciretur quid deliberati atque firmi conſilii Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderatorum Belgarum Ordines ſuper omni hoc negotio eſſent capturi; tum quouſque promoveri ſubſidia aliaqua id genus nonnulla poſſent, per quæ dictus Sueciæ Rex ſibi ſatisfieri exoptat, ut pari et æquato cum Magnæ Britanniæ Rege ac fœderati Belgii Ordinibus paſſu in hac re procedat: ea propter, ex commodo communi viſum eſt fore, ſi hoc inſtrumentum inter Miniſtros Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios dictorum Regum Sueciæ Magnæque Britanniæ, nec non dictorum fœderati Belgii Ordinum ſcripto conſignaretur; quo unâ ex parte obligaretur Rex Sueciæ, mediante ſatisfactione prædictâ, ad amplectendum deſignatum fœdus, et ad eandem navandam operam, eodemque paſſu procedendum, quo dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex dictque

of Great Britain and the said States of the United Netherlands think fit to do, in order to promote and carry on so useful a work; and, on the other hand, the said King of Sweden will be assured, that a place is reserved for him, empty and entire, to enter, as one principal party, into this league; as by these presents he is desired in the most friendly manner, both by the King of Great Britain, and by the States of the United Netherlands; who on their part will most readily employ themselves, and all kind of good offices, towards the Emperor and King of Spain, to the end that all such differences, as the said King of Sweden may have with them, be composed and determined, according to the rules of equity and justice. And, forasmuch as concerns the aid which is required from the said King, the States-General of the United Netherlands will not be wanting to send, with expedition, such necessary instructions to their Ambassadors in the Court of England; that between them, and such Commissioners as the said King of Great Britain shall appoint to that purpose, and the extraordinary Ambassador of the King of Sweden, who is now ready to begin his journey thither, together with other Ministers residing there on the part of divers Princes and States, who are

tique fœderatorum Belgarum Ordines procedendum sibi esse existimant, ut negotium tam salutare promoveatur: necnon parte ex altera dictus Rex Sueciæ certus ita fieret locum sibi vacuum ac integrum relinqui fœderis hujusce inter partes principales amplectendi, quemadmodum id ut faciat à Magnæ Britanniæ Rege, et ab Ordinibus fœderati Belgii, per hasce præsentes, maximè amicum in modum rogatur; qui et ipsi libenter apud Cæsarem et Hispaniarum Regem omne officii genus eo convertent, ut controversiæ nonnullæ quæ dicto Sueciæ Regi cum iis possint intercedere, quamprimùm componantur, et secundum jus fasque è medio tollantur. Quantùm verò ad subsidia quæ à dicto Rege prætenduntur; Ordines fœderati Belgii Generales non defuturi sunt mandatis necessariis confestim ad legatos suos in Aula Britannica mittendis, ut hos inter et Commissarios quos dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex eam in rem designabit, interque legatum Regis Sueciæ extraordinarium, qui iter jam nunc eò meditatur ex Belgio, aliosque illic degentes Ministros Principum Statuum

are concerned and interested in this affair; such measures may be taken to settle all things which shall be requisite and necessary, that the said league may acquire the substance as well as the form of a triple agreement: to which the respective parties shall make it their business to invite their friends and allies, if any of them should desire to be admitted.

Done at the Hague, $\frac{13}{23}$ of January, 1668.
Signed,
Christopher Delphicus B. and *Count of Dhona.*

Haraldus Appelboom.

ve, quos id negotium quoque tangit atque concernit; consilia ineantur, super necessariis ac requisitis omnibus constituendis; sic ut fœdus jam dictum consequatur quamprimùm substantiam atque formam pacti tripliciter conventi; ad quod invitandis amicis et confœderatis, si qui ejus in partem admitti volent, omni ex parte opera quam diligentissimè dabitur.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum, $\frac{13}{23}$ *die Januarii,* 1668.
Signed,
Christophorus Delphicus B. *ac* Comes *in* Dhona.

Haraldus Appelboomius.

The Negotiation of the Peace at Aix la Chapelle.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Antwerp, Feb. 27, N. S. 1668.

I Did not expect to give your Lordship another trouble from this town; but having been detained here some days by the Marquis's stay till this morning, and intending at night to follow him for Brussels, I know not whether my arrival there may be time enough to write by the pacquet that parts from thence to-morrow at evening, and therefore will not venture by any omission to forfeit my charter of writing every post.

I had yesterday a joint audience with the States-Deputies, and will refer your Lordship for what passed there to the inclosed memorial on our part, and answer given us by the Marquis, which we have dispatched

patched this morning to Sir John Trevor, and Mr. Bouningham at Paris, by a joint expreſs; in hopes by their endeavours there to bring the buſineſs to a ſuſpenſion of arms, upon the Marquis's having now accepted the truce, to the ſhorter term offered by France, as well as the longer propoſed by his Majeſty and the States.

For the alternative, we can yet draw no reſolution from him upon it, defending himſelf by the neceſſity of firſt concerting with us how he ſhall be aſſiſted, in caſe of France refuſing both the truce and the alternative. This is in the Marquis an aim of engaging us by advance in the party, and thereby exaſperating France, by being threatened more directly; and ſo embark the whole affair into the neceſſity of a long enſuing war; for that Spain would much rather engage in it with our aſſiſtance, than be forced to a peace upon our late project: and, I think, purſues its own intereſt right in this point. That of Holland is certainly oppoſite to theirs, and leads them to nothing ſo much as the compoſure of the quarrel, with ſome ſecurity of France growing no greater at leaſt on this ſide.

The Marquis is large in arguing to me, that our intereſt lies in a joint war, rather than a peace between the two Crowns, and that our end muſt have been hitherto, only to engage Holland with us in the quarrel; and reaſons from ſtory, and the preſent genius of our people and Parliament. I endeavour to quiet him in this point, by aſſuring him, that whatever other Kings have thought or done, and whatever the people wiſh or talk; the King, in whoſe ſole diſpoſition all matters of peace and war lie, will by no arts nor conſiderations be induced to break from Holland, in the management of this buſineſs; nor make one pace farther in the Spaniards defence, than the Dutch are willing to join in. That his intereſt as well as honour lies in this reſolution, agreed by ſo many ſolemn treaties; and that we as well as the Dutch can very well

content ourſelves with a peace, and purſuit of our commerce; provided we are not alarmed too much, and too near, with the growth of the French greatneſs. And I wind up all with preſſing him ſtill to an acceptation of the alternative, and to embrace the peace according to our project. And thus we fence here at preſent; of all which, your Lordſhip, I believe, will receive the detail more at large by the Holland pacquet, in the diſpatches paſſed between me and Monſieur de Witt ſince my arrival here; of which I deſired him to ſend copies to their Ambaſſadors in England, to be by them communicated to your Lordſhip; becauſe more uncertainty in the Nieuport pacquet, and the preſent want of a ſettled cypher, have hindered larger tranſmiſſions this way, and more directly to your Lordſhip's hands.

Yeſterday came in the Spaniſh letters, and, though I have not ſeen the Marquis ſince, yet, by what I have from his Secretary, and the Count Mountery, I have reaſon to believe, that Don Juan is on his way hither, and now at ſea with conſiderable ſupplies of men and money, which are very neceſſary here, either for carrying on a war, or inducing a peace. The particulars I cannot aſſure, though the common talk is, of eight thouſand Spaniards, and ſix hundred thouſand crowns in ſpecie, and eight hundred thouſand in remiſe. It is very poſſible your Lordſhip may hear more there of his coming, and ſee him ſooner than we ſhall here, as well as judge better, what, or how much, it will import to the effect or defeat, the advance or diverſion, of the preſent counſels. What occurs to your Lordſhip upon it, and will relate to my conduct here, I hope to receive from you by the firſt; not eſteeming any thing well begun, without a thread at leaſt from your Lordſhip to guide me; nor well performed, until I receive your approbation, upon which depends ſo much the ſatisfaction, as well as good fortune of, &c.

To

To Monſieur de Witt.

Antwerp, Feb. 27,
SIR, *N. S.* 1668.

I Have received much ſatiſfaction as well as honour by yours of the 25th, and am very glad to obſerve the ſame conformity of ſentiments between us ſince we parted, that there ever was while I reſided at the Hague. I ſhall write to you now with my own ink, having already done it with that of the Marquis, who would not be ſatisfied till I ſent you that diſpatch: and I was forced to ſhew him my letter before I ſealed it, to ſee whether it were agreeable with what he had deſired me to tell you upon that occaſion.

I had, at my firſt audience, preſſed him ſo cloſely to declare himſelf upon the alternative, and ſurmounted all his excuſes upon defect of powers, by deſiring that he would do it by way of limitation, not to be ratified till the Queen of Spain's farther pleaſure; that at laſt he told me he would comply, provided France could be brought to ratify their renunciation in form in the Parliament of Paris, to content themſelves with an equivalent for

A Monſieur de Witt.

Anvers, le 27 *Fevr.*
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

J'AI éprouvé beaucoup de ſatisfaction, & reçu beaucoup d'honneur par vôtre lettre du 25 *de ce mois; & je ſuis fort aiſe de remarquer une auſſi grande conformité de ſentimens entre nous depuis que nous nous ſommes ſeparés, qu'il y en a toujours eu pendant mon ſejour à la Haye. Je vous écrirai à preſent de mon propre encre, car c'eſt de celle de Monſieur le Marquis que je vous écrivis derniérement: il ne voulut point paroître ſatisfait, que je n'euſſe conſenti à me charger du ſoin de vous écrire, & par-là je me vis contraint à lui montrer ma lettre avant que de la fermer; car il falloit qu'il jugeât ſi elle étoit conforme à ce qu'il m'avoit prié de vous mander ſur l'affaire qui en faiſoit le ſujet.*

Dans ma premiere audience je l'avois ſi fort preſſé de ſe declarer ſur l'alternative, & j'avois été ſi habile à lever toutes ſes difficultés, & à m'oppoſer à ſes délais qui étoient fondés ſur ſon manque de pouvoirs; mes inſtances étoient ſi fortes & ſi redoublées, qu'il me dit enfin qu'il ſe diſpoſeroit à faire ce que j'exigeois de lui, pourvû qu'on pût porter la France à faire verifier, dans les formes, ſa renonciation dans le Parlement de Paris; à ſe contenter d'un équi-

valent

for the cities taken, which advance so far into the heart of the country: and lastly, if, in case of a refusal from France, he might be assured beforehand of the assistance of England and Holland by a common concert.

I told him, that, for the two points of the renunciation and the equivalent, he might reckon from our joint offices upon all we could obtain from France in favour of Spain. For, as to the equivalent, our own interest obliged us to it, that we might leave so much a stronger barrier between France and Holland: and, as for the renunciation, we desired it too, but do not conceive it a thing upon which Spain ought to be too stiff; since our guaranty was the only strong and solid renunciation that could be made upon this occasion: and for the assurance he desired, of being assisted in case of a refusal from France, I did not doubt but he had heard at least the substance of our secret articles to that purpose; because their Ambassador at the Hague had told me,

valent pour les villes prises, lesquelles sont situées si avant dans le païs, & presque au cœur de l'État; & enfin qu'en cas de réfus de la part de la France, il seroit assuré du secours de l'Angleterre & de l'Hollande, & que les deux nations armeroient de concert. Au reste, voici par où je réüssis à vaincre sa repugnance, & à obtenir ma demande; je lui dis qu'en attendant l'arrivée de pleinpouvoirs, il fît, sous le bon plaisir de la Reine d'Espagne, & ad ratificandum, la declaration sur laquelle je le pressois.

A l'égard des conditions qu'il propose, voici ce que je lui ai répondu; que pour les deux prémieres, savoir la renonciation & l'équivalent, qu'il se pouvoit promettre de nos soins & de nos offices mutuels tout ce que nous pourrions obtenir de la France en faveur de l'Espagne; à quoi j'ai ajouté, qu'à l'égard de l'équivalent, nôtre interêt commun demandoit qu'on pressât cet article, & qu'il fût accordé afin qu'une plus forte barriere fût laissée entre la France & l'Hollande. Que pour ce qui regardoit la renonciation, nous la desirions aussi; mais que nous ne croyons pas que ce fût une chose sur laquelle l'Espagne dût s'opiniâtrer; puisque nôtre guarantie étoit l'unique sureté & la seule solide renonciation sur laquelle il fût seur de se reposer en cette occasion. Qu'à l'égard de l'assurance qu'il vouloit avoir

d'un

me, that a Jew of Amsterdam had sent him a copy of them, by which he must needs be well informed of our mutual obligations, as well as of our intentions, not only to assist Spain, in case of a refusal from France, but to engage ourselves in the quarrel, by an open war with all our forces against that Crown.

After much discourse to this purpose, I thought fit, for his entire satisfaction upon the article of our assisting Spain, to let him know clearly, how far he might hope from us in the point of the renunciation, and to remove a thought which Don Estavan de Gamarra had given him as coming from me, that there was something in the articles, by which it should appear, that we would not force Spain in case of a refusal: for these reasons, I say, I thought good to read to him our three separate articles, without giving him a copy; for he professed to me, that he never received one from the Jew, though he did the substance of them both from him, and the Baron de Bargeyck. I do

d'un secours, en cas que la France refusât les conditions; je ne doutois point qu'il n'eût été instruit, du moins en substance, du contenu de nos articles secrets touchant ce point-là; que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne à la Haye m'avoit même dit qu'un Juif d'Amsterdam lui en avoit fait tenir la copie, par où il devoit être assez instruit de nos engagemens mutuels, aussi bien que de nos intentions pour l'Espagne; qui étoient, non seulement de l'assister en cas d'un réfus de la part de la France, mais de nous engager dans sa querelle, par la declaration d'une guerre ouverte en tournant toutes nos forces contre la France.

Après beaucoup de discours sur cette matiere, j'ai trouvé à propos, afin de le satisfaire pleinement sur l'article du secours, pour lui faire évidemment sentir jusqu'où il pouvoit conter sur nous dans l'affaire de renonciation, aussi bien que pour lui ôter la pensée que Don Estavan de Gamarra lui avoit donné de ma part, que peut-être y avoit-il quelque chose dans les articles par laquelle il paroîtroit que nous ne voulions forcer l'Espagne en cas d'un réfus: pour toutes ces raisons, dis-je, j'ai jugé à propos de lui lire nos trois articles separés, sans lui en laisser la copie; car il me declara, qu'il ne les avoit point reçus de son Juif, mais qu'il en avoit vû la substance, & que c'étoit par le canal de ce Juif & du Baron de Bargeyck. Je

ne

do not know whether I did well in shewing them to him; but, if you think otherwise, I hope you will excuse me upon my good intentions, and my usual plain dealing to inform freely those I treat with, of what they have to hope or to fear. The Marquis took no offence at our two first articles; and only said, he could not comprehend, why the States being newly enemies to Portugal, and having still a controversy with them, should desire so much to see them strengthened by a peace with Spain. I told him, my opinion was, that they drove on this affair, because they believed, that, without a peace with Portugal, Spain would not recover itself enough to make head against France, and reduce affairs of Christendom to the balance that is necessary.

He was satisfied with this answer, and spoke no more of the business of the renunciation: but, upon that of the assistance we promised, he said, that the words of the third article were strong enough, but in too general terms; and that, after he should have accepted the alternative, France might yet, during the next month, or April, make some enterprises upon the places on this side, before the new levies could be raised, and take some of them, if he were not furnished

ne scai pas si j'ai bien fait en les lui montrant; mais en cas que vous jugiez le contraire, j'espère que vous m'excuserez toûjours en faveur de mes bonnes intentions, qui m'ont toujours porté à declarer ouvertement à ceux avec qui je traite, tous les sujets qu'ils ont à craindre & d'esperer. Le Marquis ne se formalisa pas de nos deux premiers articles; il dit seulement, qu'il ne put comprendre pourquoi les Etats qui étoient n'agueres ennemis de Portugal, & à qui il reste encore des choses à demêler avec lui, souhaitoient si fort de voir accroître leurs forces par une paix avec l'Espagne: Je lui dit que ma pensée étoit, qu'ils pressoient cette affaire parce qu'ils croyoient que, sans la paix avec le Portugal, l'Espagnol ne se verroit jamais en état de faire téte à la France; & de donner par ce moyen aux affaires de la chrêtienté le juste équilibre qu' elles doivent avoir.

Il se contenta de celà, & ne parla plus de l'affaire de la renonciation. Mais à l'egard du secours que nous promettons, il me dit, que les termes de l'article troisieme étoient assez forts, mais trop généraux; & qu'après qu'ils auroient accepté l'alternative la France pourroit encore pendant les mois de Mars & d' Avril, faire quelques tentatives sur les villes du Païs-Bas; que les nouvelles levées nous pourroient encore être sur pied; & que la Flandre se verroit enlever quelqu'une de ses places, si

elle

furnished with three or four thousand foot, which might be easily done from Holland: and though I told him, that we could not concert farther with him before he had accepted the alternative, and by that means cast the refusal upon France, and, by consequence, the force of our arms in case of a war, which we could not declare till we were assured upon which side the refusal would lie; for all that, he would not be satisfied till I had writ you that letter; from which, however, I looked for no other effect, than to let him understand from you, what he had already learnt enough from me.

elle n'étoit munie de trois ou quatre mille hommes de pied; & qu'il étoit facile à la Hollande de les fournir. Quoique j'aye pris le soin de lui repeter, que nous ne pouvions entrer en aucune negociation avec lui avant qu'il eût accepté l'alternative, que par-là le réfus retomberoit sur la France, & que par consequent elle s'attireroit toutes nos forces sur les bras en cas de guerre; qu'enfin ces forces ne pouvoient faire de demarches jusqu'à ce qu'on eut sçu de quel côté seroit le réfus. Tout cela ne le satisfit pas, & il ne parut point content que je ne vous eusse écrit la lettre qui a précédé celle-ci, de laquelle pourtant je n'attendois pas d'autre effet que de lui faire voir par vôtre propre plume, ce qu'il avoit deja assez appris par ma bouche.

On Sunday morning your Deputies arrived, and we had a joint audience of the Marquis, whereof they will send you an account. I shall only tell you, that as we pressed him very much upon the alternative, and he, on the contrary, pressed us to a concert for the defence of Flanders, and in the mean while to make our preparations for war; I told him thereupon, what preparations the King my Master had already made, and those also made by the States on their side; but I desired him, by his declaring himself upon the alternative, to let us know

Le dimanche au matin Messieurs vos Deputés arriverent, & nous eûmes conjointement nôtre audience du Marquis; c'est de quoi ils vous rendront conte; je vous dirai seulement, que comme nous l'avons fort pressé sur l'alternative, et que lui au contraire ne nous a parlé & n'a insisté que sur un concert pour sa defense, nous proposant de faire tous nos préparatifs pour la guerre en attendant; je lui ai parlé de ceux que le Roy mon maître faisoit deja & de ceux que les Etats faisoient aussi de leur côté: je l'ai prié de nous apprendre en se declarant sur l'alternative, contre lequel des deux parties il faudroit employer

know againſt which of the two parties ſuch great preparations muſt be employed. I leave it to your Deputies to entertain you with an account of the long diſcourſes he made upon this occaſion, which however were moderate enough towards our common intentions. But we finiſhed them all, by giving him a memorial to the ſame effect with what we had told him; upon which having received an anſwer yeſterday in the evening, we diſpatched it away this morning to the Miniſters at Paris, to forward the ſuſpenſion of arms, if poſſible, by our accepting the truce propoſed by France, to the end of March.

de ſi grands préparatifs. Je laiſſe à Meſſieurs vos Deputés le ſoin de vous entretenir du détail de la conference, qui fut longue, & dans laquelle le Marquis parla ſouvent & longtems, mais toujours d'une maniere aſſez moderée, & qui ne paroiſſoit point s'éloigner de nos communes intentions. Notre audience s'eſt conclue par la préſentation d'un memoire que nous lui avons remis, & qui contenoit en ſubſtance les choſes que nous étions chargés de lui dire. Notre memoire ayant été répondu hier au ſoir, nous avons envoyé ce matin la réponſe aux Miniſtres qui ſont à Paris, & cela dans la vûe de faire réüſſir, s'il eſt poſſible, la ſuſpenſion d'armes; qui ſelon toutes les apparences ne ſera pas longtems differée, dès qu'on aura appris en France que la trève qu'elle a propoſée juſqu' à la fin de Mars vient d'être acceptée.

Yeſterday came letters from Spain: and though I have not ſeen the Marquis ſince, (who went early this morning for Bruſſels) yet, by what I have learnt from other hands, I have reaſon to think, that Don Juan may be at preſent upon his journey hither, and perhaps at ſea, and that he brings along with him conſiderable ſupplies both of men and money. The talk runs, that he has eight thouſand Spaniards, ſix hundred thouſand crowns in ſpecie, and eight

Il arriva hier des lettres d'Eſpagne, & quoique je n'ai pas vû le Marquis depuis qu'il a reçeu ſes depêches (car il a parti ce matin de la pointe du jour pour Bruxelles) j'ai pourtant lieu de conclure de tout ce que j'ai appris d'ailleurs, que Don Juan eſt enfin parti, & même deja embarqué pour ſe rendre en ce païs-ci, & qu'il a mené avec lui des ſecours conſiderables & d'hommes & d'argent; le bruit court, que les troupes conſiſtent en 8000 *Eſpagnols, que l'argent ſe monte à* 600000 *écus*

eight hundred thouſand in returns. But of theſe particulars I cannot aſſure you at preſent. I have already informed your Deputies more at large in what I have learnt upon the ſubject of Don Juan; as I ſhall continually do before-hand of all things that I think you would be glad to know from hence: and I believe they will tell you, that there is no need to deſire me to uſe them with all confidence, whereof they have already received proofs enough ſince we met here: and they will be in every thing the more acceptable to me, by how much I ſee they are in eſteem with you, and in credit with the States, as indeed they deſerve both from their qualities and their perſons.

Pray give me the liberty to deſire you will ſend a copy of this letter to the Dutch Ambaſſadors at London, with directions to ſhew it to my Lord Arlington; becauſe I cannot ſo well truſt the Nieuport pacquet, too much expoſed to the inſpection of the French; and I am not yet ſo perfect in my cipher, as to write long letters in it upon theſe affairs.

I deſire you will remember me to my friends at the Hague,

écus en eſpeces, & en 800000 écus de remiſes. Mais en vous écrivant ces particularités je ne prétens vous apprendre encore rien de certain. J'ai dit dans un plus grand détail, à Meſſieurs vos Deputés, ce que j'avois appris touchant Don Juan; & à l'avenir je ſerai toujours prêt à leur declarer toutes les choſes que je croirai que vous ſerez bien aiſe que vous ſoient mandées d'ici. Je me flate qu'ils vous diront qu'il n'eſt pas neceſſaire de me prier de me communiquer, & de m'ouvrir à eux avec toute ſorte de confiance, puiſque je leur en ai déjà donné des preuves depuis que nous nous ſommes raſſemblés ici. Leur entretien & leurs perſonnes me ſeront d'autant plus agréables, que je vois qu'avec vôtre eſtime ils ont auſſi l'eſtime & la confiance de Meſſieurs les Etats; c'eſt une juſtice rendue à leur merite & à leurs qualités perſonnelles.

M'accordez-vous la liberte de vous prier d'envoyer une copie de cette lettre aux Ambaſſadeurs d'Hollande à Londres, avec ordre de la faire voir à Milord Arlington; car je me défie extrémement du courier de Nieuport, trop expoſé à la rencontre des François, & je ne ſuis pas encore aſſez grand maître dans mon chiffre, pour m'en ſervir dans les affaires d'un auſſi long détail.

Je vous prie de m'aider à me conſerver dans le ſouvenir de

and believe me, as much as any man in the world, Sir, your, &c.

mes amis de la Haye, & de me croire toujours, & autant que perſonne du monde, Monſieur, vôtre humble & très affectionné Serviteur.

The Memorial given to the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo. Febr. 1668.

My Lord,

THE under ſigned Reſident of the King of Great Britain, and the Deputies extraordinary of the States-General of the United Netherlands, find themſelves obliged to repreſent to your Excellency, that his Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes have lately concluded a treaty, by which they have not only provided for their proper ſecurity, but alſo for the peace and quiet of Chriſtendom, in caſe their neighbours proceed in it with the ſame good intentions wherewith the ſaid allies have begun this affair: his ſaid Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes, for the better perfecting ſo Chriſtian a work, having given orders to their Miniſters reſiding at the Courts of both Kings at preſent in war, to endeavour by all means, and by a common concert, to diſpoſe both the ſaid Kings to accept the means propoſed by the ſaid allies, as the readieſt and moſt neceſſary for arriving at ſo happy an end; that is to ſay, to accept the peace upon the alternative already propoſed:

Memoire au Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo. Anvers, Fevr. 1668.

Monſieur.

LES ſouſſignez Reſident de la Grande Brétagne, & les Deputés extraordinaires des Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies du Païs-Bas ſe trouvent obligés de repreſenter à V. E. que ſa Majeſté & leurs Hautes Puiſſances ayant depuis peu conclu un traité, par lequel ils n'ont pas ſeulement pourvû à leur propre ſureté, mais auſſi à la paix & répos de la Chrétienté, en cas que leurs voiſins y procedent avec les mêmes bonnes intentions dont les dits Alliés ont entamé cette affaire; ſa dite Majeſté & leurs Hautes Puiſſances, pour mieux acheminer un ouvrage ſi chrêtien, ont donné ordres à leurs Miniſtres auprès des deux Couronnes à preſent en guerre, de tâcher par tous moyens, & par un concert commun, de diſpoſer les dites deux Couronnes à accepter les moyens propoſés par les dits Alliés, comme les plus prompts & les plus neceſſaires pour arriver à une fin ſi heureuſe; c'eſt-à-dire, de conſentir à la paix ſur l'alternative deja propoſée; & (pour prevenir les accidens qui pourront ſurvenir pour empêcher le progrès d'un traité) de conſentir auſſi

proposed: and (to prevent the accidents that may intervene to hinder the progress of the treaty) to consent also immediately to a truce till the end of March, and in the mean while to send their Plenipotentiaries to Aix la Chapelle, furnished with instructions and powers, necessary to treat and conclude a peace upon the said alternative; that the fire at present kindled, and whereof in all appearance the sparks are ready to fly through the greatest part of Christendom, may be soon extinguished, and give place to a general and lasting peace, to the safety of all those who find themselves engaged in the sad effects or consequences of the present war.

The said Resident and Deputies extraordinary are more particularly obliged, by the orders of their Masters, to represent to your Excellency, how glorious it will be to you, how advantageous to the common ends of the peace, and how necessary for preserving to Spain the remainder of Flanders, that your Excellency, by virtue of your powers, would make the first step in this great affair, by consenting readily to the said alternative, and to the said truce, and to the dispatching of the said Plenipotentiaries to Aix la Chapelle; and for the better entering into this negotiation, and

aussi promptement à une trève jusqu'à la fin du mois de Mars, & en attendant d'envoyer leurs Plenipotentiaires à la ville d'Aix la Chapelle, munis des instructions & des pouvoirs requis pour y traiter & conclure la paix sur la dite alternative, afin que le feu qui se voit à present allumé, & duquel les étincelles se vont en apparence jetter dans la plus grande part de la Chrêtienté, se puisse bientôt étouffer; & faire place à une paix générale, durable, & salutaire à tous ceux qui se trouvent enveloppés ou dans les effets ou dans les consequences funestes de la guerre presente.

Les dits Resident & les Deputés extraordinaires se trouvent plus particulierement obligés, par les ordres de leurs maîtres, de representer à V. E. combien il lui sera glorieux & avantageux à la fin commune de la paix, & necessaire à la conservation de ce qui reste à l'Espagne dans les Païs-Bas, que V. E. en vertu de ses pouvoirs fasse le premier pas dans cette grande affaire, en consentant promptement à la dite alternative, & à la dite trève, & à la depêche des dits Plenipotentiaires à la ville d'Aix la Chapelle: et aussi pour mieux acheminer cette negociation & la dite trève, que V. E. se declare

and the said truce, that your Excellency will declare immediately your acceptation of the truce, which the most Christian King has proposed, from the 18th of November to the last of March, 1668. And, upon all these points, the said Resident and Deputies extraordinary do pray your Excellency, with all possible instances, to give them a speedy and plain answer, agreeable to the good and holy dispositions wherewith his Majesty and their High Mightinesses have begun and pursued this glorious and Christian design of a general peace.

promptement d'accepter la trêve que sa Majesté très Chrêtienne a proposée le 18 Novembre 1667, jusqu' au dernier jour de Mars 1668. Et sur tous ces points les dits Resident & les Deputés extraordinaires se trouvent obligés de prier V. E. avec toutes les instances possibles, de leur donner une réponse prompte, nette, & agréable aux bonnes & saintes dispositions avec lesquelles sa Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances ont entamé & poursuivi ce dessein glorieux & Chrêtien de la paix commune.

To my Lord Hallifax.

My Lord, Brussels, March 2, N. S. 1668.

IT would be a difficult thing to answer a letter I received lately from your Lordship, if it could be ever difficult for me to do a duty where I owe it so much, and pay it so willingly. The reflections I make upon what you say, and what I hear from other hands of the same kind, carry me only to consider how much by chance, and how unequally, persons and things are judged at a distance; and make me apprehend, from so much more applause than is my due upon this occasion, that upon the next I may meet with as much more blame than I deserve; as one seldom has a great run of cards which is not followed by an ill one, at least gamesters that are no luckier than I. It is not my part to undeceive people, that will make my successes pass for merit or ability; but, for my friends, I would not cheat them to my advantage itself; and therefore will tell you the secret of all that has seemed so surprising in my negotiation; which is, that things drawn

drawn out of their center are not to be moved without much force, or ſkill, or time; but, to make them return to their center again, there is required but little of either, for nature itſelf does the work. The true center of our two nations, now ſo near allied, is where they now are ſeated; and nothing was in the way of their returning thither, but the extreme jealouſies grown between the Miniſters on both ſides, and from thence diffuſed among the people; and this it was my good luck to cure, by falling into a great confidence with Monſieur de Witt, which made all the reſt eaſy: and there is the whole ſtory, that you may ſee how much you are either biaſſed or miſtaken in all the reſt you ſay of it. For what you mention of reward, I know not how it came into your head, but I am ſure it never entered into mine, nor, I dare ſay, into any body's elſe. I will confeſs to you, that, conſidering the approbation and good opinion, which his Majeſty, and ſome conſiderable enough about him, have been abuſed into, by my good fortune in this buſineſs, I think, a wiſer man might poſſibly make ſome benefit of it, and ſome of my friends have adviſed me to attempt it, but it is in vain: for I know not how to aſk, nor why, and this is not an age where any thing is given without it. And, by that time you ſee me next, you ſhall find all this which was ſo much in talk to my advantage for nine days, as much forgotten as if it had never been, and very juſtly, I think; for in that time it received a great deal more than its due, from many other hands as well as from yours. This I tell you, that you may not deceive yourſelf by hoping to ſee me ever conſiderable, farther than in the kindneſs of my friends; and that your Lordſhip may do your part to make me ſo in that, ſeeing me like to fail in all other ways. But, as I remember, this is a time with you for good ſpeeches, and not for ill letters; I will therefore end this, to make you more

room for the others, and hope that none of the eloquence you are entertained with, can be more perſuaſive than a plain truth, when I aſſure you that I am, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 2, N. S. 1668.

I Am ſorry his Majeſty ſhould meet with any thing he did not look for at the opening of this ſeſſion of Parliament; but confeſs I do not ſee why his Majeſty ſhould not only conſent, but encourage any enquiries or diſquiſitions they deſire to make into the miſcarriages of the late war, as well as he has done already in the matter of accounts: for, if it be not neceſſary, it is a King's eaſe and happineſs to content his people. I doubt, as men will never part willingly with their money, unleſs they be well perſuaded it will be employed directly to thoſe ends for which they gave it; ſo they will never be ſatisfied with a government, unleſs they ſee men are choſen into offices and employments by being fit for them, continued for diſcharging them well, rewarded for extraordinary merit, and puniſhed for remarkable faults. Beſides, in theſe caſes, his Majeſty diſcharges the hardſhip and ſeverity of all puniſhments upon the Parliament, and commits no force upon the gentleneſs of his own nature, while his ſubjects ſee that no tenderneſs of their Prince, nor corruption of Miniſters, can preſerve them long from paying what they owe to any forfeits of their duty. Nor indeed can any Prince do juſtice to thoſe that ſerve him well, without puniſhing thoſe that ſerve him ill, ſince that is to make their conditions equal, whoſe deſerts are different. I ſhould not ſay this to any perſon but your Lordſhip, to whom I know part of that juſtice is due. But, to ſay the truth, the progreſs and end of the laſt war went ſo much to my heart,

heart, and I have heard ſo much lately from Monſieur de Witt concerning the carriage of it on our ſide, eſpecially what fell under his eye while he was abroad in the fleet, that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excuſed for their warmth in this purſuit. But your Lordſhip can beſt diſcern by the courſe of debates, whether this proceeds from a ſteady intention upon a general good, or from ſome accidental diſtempers, from which the greateſt and beſt aſſemblies of men are not always free, eſpecially when they have continued long together.

I beg your Lordſhip's pardon for my liberty in theſe diſcourſes, to which you were pleaſed to encourage me by hearing me ſo obligingly thoſe few minutes I was allowed for ſuch talk or thoughts at my laſt being with you, and from the ſenſe you then expreſſed of the abſolute neceſſity there was for his Majeſty to fall into a perfect intelligence with his Parliament, eſpecially being engaged into an appearance of action abroad by the force of this preſent conjuncture. I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, Bruſſels, March 5, N. S. 1668.

ABout ten days ſince I diſpatched away an expreſs to you (jointly with the deputies of Holland) whereby we acquainted you and Monſieur Bouningham, that the Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo had accepted the truce and ſuſpenſion of arms propoſed ſome time ſince by France, until the end of March, as well as the other propoſed lately by his Majeſty and the States-General until the end of May. We are in ſome pain to have yet received no account of his arrival, but hope this delay will be recompenſed by bringing us news of the treaty's being accepted in the ſame terms by that Court as well as by this. How-

ever, in caſe of any ſcruple which may be raiſed there, for want of due notice given of the acceptation here, we now ſend you an act of the Marquis Caſtel-Rodrigo, authoriſing his Majeſty's and the States Miniſters at Paris to manifeſt to that Court his Excellency's ſaid acceptation, and thereupon to negotiate and conclude the ſame on that ſide.

And, to the end that no objection may be made by France againſt the preſent expedition of this truce, in order to an enſuing treaty and peace, we ſend you likewiſe by this expreſs the Marquis's laſt anſwer to our inſtances yeſterday made for the acceptation alſo of the alternative, which is ſo full and ſo direct to the ends of our late treaty, that we have now nothing left to do on this ſide, the remainder of the whole negotiation lying on your parts at Paris, which we are here very much pleaſed with, ſeeing it is devolved to ſo much abler hands. I hope you will place the whole ſtrength of his Majeſty's and the States-General credit in that Court upon an immediate conſent to the ſuſpenſion of arms, knowing how dangerous all new accidents may prove to the fair hopes and proſpect in which we are at preſent of a peace; and withal how far his Majeſty and the States are engaged to take part in any action that ſhall begin after the Marquis's accepting the alternative, as well as all other points of their late project for bringing about ſo happy an end.

For a good preſage of this greater peace, we received here the news of that of Portugal, the very evening which brought us ſo happily the Marquis's anſwer upon the alternative, which has ſo much raiſed the hearts of the Spaniards here, that we are likely to have leſs thanks for preſſing them ſo far to a prejudicial peace, as they eſteem it on this ſide: but, ſince they are already obliged, it will depend wholly upon France to hinder the concluſion of this in the ſame ſeaſon with the other; which I will believe them too wiſe to do, as well as too conſtant to the

aſſurances

aſſurances they have already given his Majeſty, the States, and ſeveral other Princes in this point; of which the immediate conſenting to a ſuſpenſion of arms will ſhew the meaning and effect.

I ſhall no farther increaſe your preſent trouble, than by the profeſſions of my being, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant.

To the Count de Molina, Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London.

My Lord, March 7, 1668.

YOUR Excellency cannot doubt of my ſatisfaction in arriving at Bruſſels to find myſelf there immediately poſſeſſed of your letter with the incloſed paper; though the news of your health was more neceſſary to me, than that of the unreaſonableneſs of one of your neighbours, and true intereſts of the others, which I find ſo well deſcribed there. But the beſt ink in the world is not a balſam that can cure ſuch wounds, they muſt find their remedy from more powerful medicines, which the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo has given us reaſon to hope, if France will ſtill chuſe rather to fall out with all the world than to make a peace ſo much to their own advantage as that we offer them: at leaſt it is certain, that your Excellency with a ſtroke of your pen has brought to light the moſt covered deſigns of your enemies,

Al Conde de Molina.

Sennor Mio, 7 Marco 1668.

NO puede V. E. dudar del guſto que he tenido enllegar a Bruſſeleus, aviendome yo allado a qui con ſu carta en las manos con le quaderno adjunto, aunque a mi era mucho mas neceſſaria la noticia de ſu ſalud de V. E. que no de la ſinrazon de uno ſuyo vezino ny del interez verdadero de los otros, que van muy bien traçados en el dicho quaderno; Pero la mejor tinta del mondo no es balſamo boſtante para curar tales heridas, y es meneſter remedios mas fuertes, a los quales la prudencia del Sennor Marques de Caſtel Rodrigo a dado lugar ſi la Francia par ſus peccados mas quiſiere la guerra con todo el mondo, que no la poz avantajada que la hemos offrecido: a lo menos ſe puede dezir que S. E. con un raſyo de pluma a ſacado en luz los deſinios mas encubiertos de ſus enimigos, a dado a los inter-

undeceived with the greateſt clearneſs of your friends, and putFlanders under the ſecureſt protection; of which I cannot help rejoicing with you as the author.

For what relates to Father Patrick, how much ſoever I concern myſelf in his fortunes, I do not yet ſee any way that it can be in my power to ſerve him on this occaſion; the laſt French conqueſts having determined the diſpute between the Abbot Arnolphino and the Marquis of Baden, about the Abbey de la Charité.

But the Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo has aſſured me, he will find ſome other way of ſhewing the eſteem he has both for the merits and perſon of Father Patrick, to whom I hope your Excellency will do me juſtice, having endeavoured (though without ſucceſs by this unhappy conjuncture) all that lay in my power to ſerve him. I kiſs your Excellency's hands, and am yours, &c.

intereſſados el mas claro deſſenganno, y pueſto las coſas de Flandes debaxodel amparo mas fuerte que ſe podia buſcar, de que no me puedo impedir de dar a V. E. la enorabuena.

Por intereſſado que ſoy en los aumentos del Padre Patricio, no veo come ſara poſſible ſervirle mas en eſta occaſion; aviendo la Francia con ſu poſtrera conquiſta determinada el pleyto entre el Abad Arnolfin y el Marques de Baden, en la de la Abadia de la Caridad.

Pero el Sennor Marques me ha prometido con muchos veras de hallar otra manera di manifeſtar en quanto ſtima la perſonna y les meritos del dicho padre, a quien V. E. me ha de juſtifiar por averme empennado quanto era poſſible en ſuo negotio aunque faltado en alcancarle por la deſdicha de las coyunturas.

B.L.M.D.V.E.

Su Mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 13, N. S. 1668.

THE laſt poſt brought me none from England, nor has this week as yet brought me any from Spain; ſo that it is France only at this time that entertains us. The diſpatch returned us late laſt night from Sir John Trevor, upon the point of the alternative, has given the town here occaſion to talk of the peace as a thing done, though I know not yet what the Marquis ſays to it, having not ſeen him ſince;

ſince; but think it poſſible he may be as much ſurpriſed with their acceptation, as, Sir John Trevor ſays, they were with his. It ſeems plain to me that France deſires to purſue the war, but fears our engaging in it; and, to hinder that, will uſe all the addreſs that can be to lay the obſtruction of peace upon the Spaniards. They on the other ſide deſire to continue the war, provided they may be ſure of our and Holland's aſſiſtance; and to that end, if they play their game well, they will be ſure to retort the addreſs of France upon them, and lay the blame of the war at their doors, without which they have no hopes of Holland's falling into their party; who, whether they are partial to the French or no in this quarrel, are certainly partial to the peace, and will not be drawn to ſhare in the war but upon the laſt neceſſity. Therefore my buſineſs will be at preſent to induce the Marquis to clear thoſe two ſcruples made by the French upon his powers, and the choice of one or other of the alternatives; in which I know not what ſucceſs I am like to have after ſo many advances made already as he conceives on his ſide, and ſo near Don John's arrival, at leaſt according to the preſent reckoning here, which perſuades us that he departed from Madrid upon the 22d paſt.

I know your Lordſhip has the ſame papers I received from Sir John Trevor, and, from what occurs upon them here, I beg your Lordſhip's leave that I may this once refer you to the incloſed copy of my letter this evening to him upon that ſubject, having not time left me to repeat it here ſo at large as I ought to do.

The truth is, I never had ſo hard a part upon me as I have at this time, to keep all in good temper between the Marquis and the deputies of Holland: for, beſides, that their ends may perhaps be a little different, their complexions are extremely ſo: he is not

the

the eaſieſt of acceſs, nor the quickeſt of diſpatch; and his officers are at the ſame rate. The Dutch deputies are all upon the ſpur; and when they demand an audience or a paper, if they have it not within half an hour, they ſay, the Marquis *ſe mocque d'eux, & ils ſe trouvent obligez de l'eſcrire ce ſoir aux Eſtats, & que le Marquis ne cherche que des retardemens, & par la de les engager dans la guerre.* When they receive orders to move the Marquis in any particular, they muſt have it granted the firſt time it falls in diſcourſe, and in the very ſame form and words it runs in their letters; and think the Marquis ought to obſerve the States order and directions as punctually as they; and will reaſon him to the death upon every point. The Marquis who uſes to owe no man any thing in that kind, grows ten times more difficult by that time they have talked an hour, than he was at firſt; and, engaging in large diſcourſes, gives them twenty occaſions of growing warm upon the place, and wiſe afterwards by interpretations, that, God knows, were never in the caſe; ſo that in their audiences, between the Marquis's eloquence and their Leyden philoſophy, the cards commonly run high, and all is pique and repique between them; and I am to go to one and the other next day to ſet all right again, and endéavour to make them agree aſunder upon points which they could by no means agree upon together. But, if I go on, I ſhall weary your Lordſhip as much as they weary me: and therefore I ſhall break off this letter with telling you only, that the talk here is of an attempt for the relief of Genap, and that the horſe are drawing together for that purpoſe; with what ſucceſs I know not, but am ſure the French deſerve none there, for continuing an attempt ſo long after the ſuſpenſion of all enterpriſes was accorded. I am ever, &c.

To

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, Bruſſels, March 13, N. S. 1668.

I Am two letters in your debt ſince my laſt by the ordinary, one of the 8th, the other of the 12th; but I muſt needs ſay that your laſt has left you nothing in mine. That King's anſwer is full and fair in my apprehenſion, what it will appear in the Marquis's I know not: for, ſince that Court cavils at his acceptation of the alternative, and calls it captious, I know not whether he may not have his revenge at theirs. Beſides, Monſieur Lionne's letter, I confeſs, looks of a very different ſtyle from his Maſter's, and, in my judgment, artificial: nor do I underſtand great Miniſters reaſoning upon the intentions of Crowns, rather from common report, from paſſages of private men's letters, or of books made for argument, than from the open and poſitive declaration of Miniſters, who ought to know their powers beſt, and how to uſe them. Beſides, they give the Spaniards very fair play againſt them in this kind of war, by an action I am very much unſatisfied in, which is, beginning and continuing the ſiege of Genap about four leagues from hence, now the eighth day after the accord granted by France for the ſuſpenſion of arms, notwithſtanding our ſignification of it to the commander of thoſe troops; beſides the ſeizing of another caſtle five days after the ſaid accord, though the courier came in two days from Paris, and the ſame haſte might as eaſily have been made upon the other errand. In ſhort, if France pretends to be believed here, they muſt give deeds as well as words; and will ſhew the ſincerity of their intentions for peace, by conſenting to the truce till the end of May, accepted already here; ſince, if there ſhould be any defect in the Marquis's powers, it may be eaſily ſupplied with a little time, and any

delay

delay in the choice of the alternative repaired. In the mean while I will hope by the next courier to give you ſatisfaction in thoſe points; for I neither know why the Marquis ſhould be difficult in making his choice upon the alternative, or expoſing the material clauſes of his powers, which I will aſſure you are as full, in my apprehenſion, as can be granted. In the mean time, this courier goes to you with a duplicate of Monſieur Colbert's paſs (which was ſent ſome time ſince to the Internuncio at Aix) with the orders ſent out for the ſuſpenſion of arms, and with the Marquis's naming a day for the Baron de Bergeyck's coming to Aix, in caſe Monſieur Colbert can be ready in that time; though I do not ſee how the treaty can begin till his Majeſty's and the States Miniſters can be there, as well as two principals; and, in that regard, as well as many others, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to obtain France's conſent to the truce, if they would have us believe they intend the peace, and, in the mean time, to procure orders for the ſuſpenſion of arms before Genap, as well as all other places.

To-morrow I expect an audience upon the choice of the alternative; though I confeſs I did not think, any more than the Marquis, that ſuch declaration was neceſſary before the Miniſters meeting at Aix; but the compliance muſt be on the weaker ſide, and, to that purpoſe, I ſhall uſe my beſt endeavours, and remain, Sir, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 16, N. S. 1668.

BY your Lordſhip's of the 28th paſt, I am put out of pain for the Merlin yacht, and return of the ratification upon the laſt treaty. The error in the forms of the preceding inſtruments, ſent over for his Majeſty's ratification, was, I ſuppoſe, occaſioned, as your Lordſhip ſays, by the omiſſion of ſigning both parts,

parts, which I confeſs was offered me by the Dutch Commiſſioners, but, being unpractiſed in thoſe forms, I choſe to follow the Ambaſſador's example at Breda, who ſigned but one.

Your Lordſhip ſees how ill a Miniſter I am likely to make, if ever I muſt enter upon new forms, or a character that requires being more punctual in them. I ſhall however ſay no more in anſwer to what your Lordſhip has hinted to me about the journey to Aix, having written from Antwerp all that occurred to me upon it: after which I know very well, it becomes me to leave all to the King's pleaſure. I have aſked the Marquis, with what character he will ſend the Baron de Bergeyck; he ſays, in quality of Plenipotentiary, but, in the reſt, with power to take upon him that character the French Miniſter ſhall aſſume. He plainly acknowledges that in right he cannot ſend any man with the title of an Ambaſſador, which lies only between two Sovereigns; and I know not why the character of Plenipotentiary may not agree with that of Envoy Extraordinary on all hands. But the light in this point muſt be drawn from France, and not from this place.

Laſt night at an audience jointly with the Dutch deputies (which I had diſpoſed in the morning with the Marquis, and with difficulty enough) his Excellency was content to declare his choice with the alternative, which was to leave France their conqueſt of laſt campaign, and likewiſe to promiſe us a tranſcription of the moſt material clauſes: both to be ſent to Sir John Trevor and Mr. Van Bouningham at Paris, to enable them to give that Court ſatisfaction upon their leaſt objections againſt the Marquis's acceptation of the alternative. So that we have now gained the utmoſt point that can be deſired here in purſuit of our treaty, and muſt leave the reſt upon their hands at Paris.

The

The Marquis took occaſion at the ſame time to complain hard of the French breaking the ſuſpenſion by the attempt upon Genap, which was yielded to them, two days ſince upon conditions, after a large breach with their cannon, and ſeems to be deſigned for a poſt to block up this town, which they would certainly do if they could poſſeſs themſelves of Terveur and Vilvorde; the firſt being an abandoned place, and the ſecond not tenable without forces to relieve it. I do not ſee how his Majeſty and the States can refuſe to oblige France to reſtore Genap within the time of the ſuſpenſion, ſince no pretence of miſtake or delay in the orders can appear at all ſincere without the reſtitution, the ſiege continuing to the eighth day after the accord made for the ſuſpenſion at Paris.

The Marquis ſeems to apprehend, that the effects of our having obtained from him all that France can demand in purſuit of their former propoſals, or we in purſuit of our treaty, will be a ſudden throwing off the maſk on the French ſide, and making what advances they can in the war, before we and Holland are in poſture to enter upon defence of this country, and therefore preſſes, all that can be, our arming, and concerting how to proceed in ſuch a caſe: and I ſuppoſe his Majeſty may think fit to encourage Holland that is ſo near, and already armed, to furniſh them here with three or four thouſand foot, for defence of their towns upon the firſt motions of the French to attack any of them; with aſſurance that his Majeſty will fall into the ſame courſe, with all poſſible ſpeed and vigour, and in the ways that ſhall be concerted.

For the ſupplies of money from hence, I can yet ſay no more than in my former, though I omit no inſtances upon that ſubject; but I doubt in the preſent poſture here the King will loſe his right, which they ſay will be, where nothing is. And I cannot yet find any thing drawn to a concluſion in the negotiation

tiation with Holland, for the money upon their towns. The Marquis ſhewed me Don Eſtavan's laſt letters yeſterday upon that matter, which ſay, that the Dutch inſiſt peremptorily upon all the Spaniards hold in Guelderland, and, beſides, upon Damme and two other forts in Flanders. On the other ſide, the Spaniards are unwilling to conclude, if a peace be like to enſue; by which means, parting from thoſe places to the Dutch, and at the ſame time ſo many other to the French, would leave them hardly any thing here they would think worth their pains to keep: ſo that the concluſion of this money matter between them will depend upon the French King's anſwer to the truce till the end of May, and fuller declaring the continuance of his ſatisfaction upon the alternative; and even then I doubt it may be neceſſary for me to make a journey into Holland, for the perfecting that treaty between them and the Marquis, who has not yet found out the perſons or ways of treating to any purpoſe with them. In the mean time, if I knew how far I might engage his Majeſty to arm in the defence of theſe countries, ſince Spain has accepted all we propoſe in our treaty; I would endeavour to induce the Marquis to conclude a treaty to that purpoſe, and for furniſhing his Majeſty thereupon with certain ſums at certain times, thereby to make the debt at leaſt from Spain a certain thing whenever the money could be found. I hope to receive ſome light from your Lordſhip upon this, in anſwer to a former of mine, and the mean while will prepare the matter with the Marquis.

I am ſufficiently warned upon the point of the *pavillon*, and will hope his Majeſty's conſtancy therein proceeds from a reſolution to take thoſe courſes and counſels which may make him as much feared abroad as any of his anceſtors were, in whoſe time that point was firſt gained; for without that our pretenſions will grow vain at preſent, and in time obſolete. In the

mean while, I hope ſome expedient will be foreſeen, that may prevent the inconveniencies or unkindneſſes which may happen between us and the Dutch upon this point in the preſent conjuncture; and, in caſe of neceſſity, to join our fleets. The indignity offered us by la Roche in landing armed men in England, and the reſt, ſeems the greateſt I have ever heard of that kind: and how far moderation in reſenting and revenging injuries is a virtue in a Prince, or a State, as well as in a private Chriſtian, I will not take upon me to judge. That which I know beſt is, that I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 20, N. S. 1668.

THE day after the laſt Engliſh pacquet's arrival, I received your Lordſhip's of the 2d by the Dutch Reſident's conveyance, which, together with ſome expreſſions I made out of your letter, gave me occaſion to conclude that your Lordſhip at the writing of it believed me in Holland; I know not whether upon ſomething written by the Marquis or me; but that journey, I ſee, the Marquis would have depend upon the French anſwer to our laſt diſpatch, and their conſenting or refuſing the propoſed truce till May, from which he ſuppoſes it will be eaſy to gueſs a peace or a war. In the mean time I was in hopes to receive ſome particular commands or inſtructions for my carriage in Holland, not deſiring to be left ſo much at large; and it is very poſſible I ought to have received them by your Lordſhip's laſt; but that new cypher will, at one time or other caſt me into deſpair; for, by all our ſkill, we cannot make out one ſyllable of the two long paragraphs; though making out the laſt ſhort one very eaſily makes us ſee the fault muſt be on the writer's ſide, and I am apt to imagine the

exactneſs required to this cypher is more than can agree with the haſte often neceſſary in your Lordſhip's office; having obſerved frequent miſtakes in the uſe of the old cypher, which yet never hindered my collection of the ſenſe, whereas the leaſt of this is mortal to the whole paragraph.

I cannot yet come to any adjuſtment with the Marquis upon the chief point recommended to me, though I have often fallen upon the diſcourſe, and endeavoured to engage it farther by the offer of a project I have drawn up to that purpoſe; but he aſſures me your Lordſhip is fallen upon it with the Count de Molina and Baron de l'Iſola in England, and, when you have agreed it, will ſend it over hither for his Excellency to perfect; which, I confeſs, I think were the better way, ſince I am but very generally inſtructed in it: however, his Excellency deſired me this morning to perfect the draught I had projected, that, in caſe we found it not concluded in England, it might be ended here.

I doubt, he will not be induced to part with what the Dutch demand in Guelderland, till he foreſees plainly an inevitable war; and, till that concluſion, or Don John's arrival, all will be miſery here, what could be ſpared being gone out upon new levies and recruits, and the very Spaniards late arrived here falling already into want; which is a piece of huſbandry of all others I cannot underſtand, the old troops every day diminiſhing as the new levies advance. But they aſſure me, Don John brings with him in bars a million and a half of crowns, and another million and a half of the ſame money in remiſes; which is the life of all hopes here, though we cannot yet be certain of his having left Madrid; the laſt letters of the 29th paſt mentioning his indiſpoſition, at the ſame time with his deſign of parting three days after.

Your Lordſhip will have found that all I could uncypher in your laſt was already performed here, both upon the choice of the alternative, as well as ſatisfaction in the powers, and diſpoſition of the Baron Bergeyck's departing for Aix: however, I failed not to mind the Marquis of the laſt this very morning; who aſſured me the Baron ſhould certainly be there by the day appointed, which is the 27th of this month, and that his equipage was already well advanced; but however the compleating of it ſhould not hinder his journey. The Baron tells me that France, upon deſigning Monſieur Colbert, declared his character to be of Ambaſſador Plenipotentiary, with reſerve of joining another to him as chief of the ambaſſy in caſe of the Marquis's going; but that he (the Baron) knows not yet in what quality he ſhall go, leaving it wholly to the diſpoſition of the Marquis.

I have this week a long and hearty aſſurance, from Monſieur de Witt, of the States reſolutions to purſue the effects of our treaty, with all the vigour that can be; and, for that end, of their having given the firſt rendezvous to their army near Bergen-op-Zoom, from whence they may eaſily fall into the defence of the Spaniſh towns, upon the firſt attempt of the French after they have refuſed the peace: which they muſt now ſuddenly unmaſk themſelves in, one way or other; no farther pretences being left, ſince our laſt Friday pacquets, which were repeated by an expreſs on Sunday, and ſhall go by another this week for ſurety ſake; (and your Lordſhip may be aſſured we omit no cautions we can uſe, in the matter of our diſpatches, of which none yet has failed us:) the ſuſpenſion of enterpriſes is owned by the French Commanders ſince the taking of Genap: ſo that there is little now that furniſhes talk here, beſides the ſhameleſs treaſon by which Burgundy was loſt, and of which

the

the Marquis d'Yenne the Governor, his nephew the Count de St. Amour, and Don John de Batteville have chief honour; the laſt being employed by the Marquis to treat with the Switzers for the protection of that country. The villainy and foulneſs of this action make the Spaniards ſay here, that a great King ſhould rather have ſent his lacqueys, than gone himſelf, to receive ſuch a conqueſt. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 23, N. S. 1668.

I Believe you may wonder on that ſide, as well as many do on this, both here and in Holland, at the election the Marquis has lately made of the alternative offered by France, after ſo long a deliberation, as might have ſerved him to make a wiſer choice. For, if Spain had parted with the county of Burgundy, Cambray, Air, and St. Omer; though they had furniſhed France with a better frontier, yet they had kept a good one for the reſt of theſe countries on both ſides; whereas, parting with the late conquered places, beſides their large dependencies, which ſtraiten their territories that ſhould maintain their armies, their whole frontier is laid open on the ſide of Flanders, by the loſs of Douay, Liſle, and Tournay, and, on the other ſide, by that of Aeth and Charleroy; which leaves the Spaniards the open towns of Louvain and Bruſſels for a frontier on this ſide, and thoſe of Ghent and Bruges on the other; and the country ſo pierced by the French conqueſt, as what remains will be the work but of one campaign, whenever the counſels or forces of England and Holland ſhall fail or delay to defend them.

The reaſoners here pretend to ſay, that Spain could not part with the [a] French County, becauſe they muſt

[a] Burgundy.

with it quit the title they yet retain of Dukes of Burgundy; and, beſides, they would thereby loſe their communication wholly with Lorrain, and in a great meaſure with the Empire: This laſt is indeed of weight, though the firſt be but airy. But neither of them I take to have determined the Marquis in his choice; and, having in various conferences penetrated his inmoſt thoughts upon this ſubject, I judged it neceſſary to acquaint your Lordſhip with them; that his Majeſty, knowing perfectly the diſpoſitions of his neighbours, may the better take his own meaſures, in this great conjuncture. But, to explain this matter, I muſt run it up to the original.

Your Lordſhip remembers, that after the French invaſions and ſucceſſes laſt year in Flanders, and the peace at Breda, when they found how much both England and Holland reſented the progreſs of their arms in Flanders; they ſent a declaration to the States-General, that they were willing to make a peace with Spain, either upon Spain's quitting all their right to the late conquered places, or elſe to the county of Burgundy, Cambray, Air, and St. Omers, and would leave to Spain the choice of either of theſe alternatives. The Dutch were perplexed what uſe to make of this declaration, being frighted at the danger of Flanders, but newly and faintly reconciled to England, and not knowing how we would take the invaſion of Flanders. In theſe doubts I found them when his Majeſty ſent me firſt to ſound their intentions, and, immediately after, to enter into leagues with them, for our own mutual defence, and that of Flanders. The King would have joined with them for the recovery of all the Spaniards had loſt in Flanders, either by a peace or a war. The province of Utrecht was for this reſolution; but the Penſioner and the other ſix Provinces were for accepting the offer of the alternative made by France, and obliging

obliging Spain to make their choice, as well as France to ſtand by their own propoſal. Upon theſe terms the triple alliance was concluded, but with different views, both of Holland and of Spain. The truth is, Holland was unwilling to break off their ancient amity with France, and embark in a war, with the conjunction of ſuch an old enemy as Spain, and ſuch a new friend as England. They reckoned on a peace upon one of the alternatives, and were ſolicitous only to preſerve Flanders, as a frontier for Holland againſt France, without conſidering the intereſts of Spain further than as they appeared to be their own. They reckoned certainly upon Spain's chuſing to part with Burgundy, Cambray, &c. which lay far from Holland, and recovering the towns they had loſt in Flanders, by which their country would be left defenſible, at leaſt with the aſſiſtances of England and Holland.

On the other ſide Spain, though they profeſſed the greateſt ſenſe that could be of what they owed his Majeſty, upon the late generous advances he had made in their favour; yet they were enraged at Holland, for ſeconding ſo ill his Majeſty's reſolutions, and turning it upon the choice only of an alternative, by which the Spaniards were to loſe ſo great territories, and part with their right to them, inſtead of recovering the poſſeſſion they had yet only loſt. They took it as the greateſt indignity in the world, that Holland ſhould pretend to oblige the Crown of Spain to accept the very conditions of France, after an invaſion ſo unjuſt, as they eſteemed this laſt. They were at firſt upon the thoughts of parting with all they had in the Low-Countries to France, upon ſome equivalent on the ſide of Spain; and thereby both end the charge of keeping Flanders, and be revenged upon the Dutch, by leaving them open and expoſed to the neighbourhood of France. The Marquis once aſſured me, that moſt of the council of Spain were for

making this desperate peace; and that, for his own part, he was inclined to it, though more out of spite to the Dutch, than what he thought was the true interest of Spain. After some pause, this heat of the Spaniards began to cool: they saw the Spanish Crown, by parting with Flanders, must abandon all commerce with the Princes and States on this side that country; and that, upon a new war with France about the succession, they should have no way left of diverting the French forces from falling upon Spain itself. And so, with much ado, they resolved to accept the alternative; but left the choice to the Marquis here, as best enlightened in all the interests of Flanders, as well as the dispositions of their neighbours.

The Marquis hated the peace, upon either of the alternatives, and desired nothing but the continuance of the war, with the assistance of England and Holland, to which he saw his Majesty inclinable, and thought the States would be induced to, rather than venture an agreement between Spain and France, for the exchange of Flanders: he thought, that, if they yielded Burgundy and the remote frontiers, Holland would be secure, and France would perhaps be contented to let the peace rest upon those terms during the King of Spain's tender life: but, if he yielded all the late conquered towns to France, Holland would be in perpetual alarm for the danger of the rest; England would be likewise the more concerned, and both, being obliged to be continually armed, to prevent the danger of Flanders, would find it their interest, rather to enter into such a war, as might end in a safer peace, than by a patched peace to lie always in danger of a new war, whenever France should be in a condition of carrying the rest of Flanders, by any sudden invasion, or by any discontent of counsels or interests between us and Holland.

Besides,

Besides, the Marquis imagines, that France will either endeavour to avoid the peace now offered; or, if they conclude it for the present, that, being possessed of the frontiers of Flanders, they will not long resist the temptation of carrying the rest, being in a manner but open country; and thereby engage both us and Holland to assist Spain with all our forces, which, he thinks, must make the war prosperous, or a peace secure. So that, upon the whole, the Marquis has chosen this alternative, not from any desire of making the peace at present, but only in the view, either of carrying on the present war, or of making another with the strength of his neighbours.

Your Lordship may easily judge, how much the Dutch are like to be disappointed and offended with the Spaniards for this choice: so that I cannot pretend to guess what is like to become of a peace which both France and Spain come to so unwillingly, and which England and Holland promote upon conditions which they both dislike. And so I leave this perplexed affair, and ask your Lordship's pardon for this long deduction, which I should not have troubled your Lordship or myself with, but that I thought you would come to know the true springs of it no other way: and which I could not have known, if the Marquis were not a very warm talker, and sometimes farther than he intended. I am ever, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, March 25, *N. S.*

SIR, 1668.

BY Monsieur Van Beuninghen's dispatches of the 21st, you will have known the answer of the French Court upon the truce we desired, which in my opinion seems to make

A Monsieur de Witt.

Bruxelles, le 25 Mars, Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

VOus avez appris, par les depêches de Monsieur Van Beuninghen du 21 *du courant, la réponse de la Cour de France sur la trève tant desirée: cette réponse selon moi semble rendre la*

make the war inevitable; and that all the appearances France has made of desiring a peace, are levelled at no other mark but to slacken the resolutions of the allies from assisting Flanders; or, at least, to gain six weeks time to enlarge their conquests, before the Spaniards can either receive the recruits they expected, or the assistance of their neighbours for defending their most considerable places. For, as to what the French propose, of restoring all they shall conquer between the end of this month and the 15th of May, it seems to me to be too gross, and to discover a contempt of our wit as well as of our treaty: for, if all our offices and offers to make Spain ratify what the Marquis has accepted, are not sufficient to with-hold them six weeks, from what they pretend to restore, how will they be capable of restoring for ever what they have already taken? I cannot see how their manner of accusing and making exceptions to the absolute powers of a Minister of Spain; and all this founded upon particular intelligence they pretend to have from the court at Madrid, nor the formal objections they make against the delegation of the Baron de Bergeyck, when at the same time they send Monsieur Colbert to Aix la Chapelle; how, I say, all this can admit better

la guerre inévitable; & il paroit que toutes les mines que la France fait de la vouloir, ne tendent à autre but qu'à refroidir les alliés sur le secours des Païs-Bas, ou du moins à gagner un mois & demi de tems, afin de pousser ses conquêtes, avant que les Espagnols puissent recevoir leurs recruites, ou des secours de leurs voisins pour munir leurs plus importantes places. Car, à l'égard de l'offre qu'elle fait, de restituer tout ce qui sera conquis entre la fin de ce mois & le 15 de Mai, cela me paroit trop grossier, & découvre même son mépris pour nos éprits aussi bien que de nôtre traité. Car, si tous nos soins, & nos bons offices, joints à l'offre que nous faisons de faire ratifier par l'Espagne les articles déjà acceptés par le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, n'ont pû obtenir de la France qu'elle renonce pour six semaines au dessein de tenter de nouvelles conquêtes, qui sont, au reste, les seules qu'elle offre de restituer; si tout cela, dis je, est vrai, nous pouvons-nous flater que nous en obtiendrons la restitution entiere? Je ne vois pas que leur manière de chicâner, & de faire des exceptions contre les pleins-pouvoirs d'un Ministre d'Espagne, & tout cela fondé sur les avis particuliers que la France pretend avoir de la cour de Madrid, non plus que les objections formelles qu'elle fait contre la delegation du Baron du Bergeyck, en même tems qu'elle envoye Monsieur Colbert à Aix

ter interpretation in what regards their intentions for the peace: for, in whatever comes from theſe Miniſters at Paris, I think one may diſcover an irregular ambition under a great deal of affectation and diſguiſe, whereof God only knows the iſſue.

For myſelf, I will tell you in confidence, and with my uſual freedom, my opinion in all this. I think then in the firſt place, that by all our negotiations, though never ſo well managed; by all our offices and careſſes; we ſhall never obtain a peace from France, while they have any appearances of purſuing their intereſt or their glory in carrying on the war: and that the only way of diſpoſing them to a peace is to order it ſo, as they may only find their intereſts in it; which we can no otherwiſe do, but by ſhewing them the ſtrength of our forces, and the firmneſs of our reſolutions before the war begins; and, ſince we only draw a war on ourſelves by deſiring a peace, to endeavour on the contrary to draw on the peace by making all the appearances of deſiring a war.

Therefore I think, that what remains to be done is, to advance as much as poſſible our preparations and forces by ſea and land; and let the moſt Chriſtian

à Aix la Chapelle, puiſſent recevoir de meilleurs interpretations par rapport à leurs intentions pour la paix: car dans tout ce qui part de ces Miniſtres, il me ſemble qu'on decouvre une ambition dereglée, qui ſe couvre ſous une addreſſe recherchée, & des manieres trop étudiées pour être ſinceres. Dieu ſait ce qui en eſt.

Pour moi, je vous dirai, avec ma confiance & ma franchiſe ordinaires, mon ſentiment ſur tout cela. C'eſt que par toutes ſortes de négociations les mieux conduites, par toutes ſortes de cajoleries, & de careſſes, & par tant de bons offices réïterés, nous ne pourrons jamais obtenir la paix de la France, pendant qu'elle eſt flatée par les apparences, & qu'elle juge qu'il eſt & de ſon interêt & de ſa gloire de pouſſer la guerre; & que par conſequent le ſeul moyen de la diſpoſer à la paix c'eſt de faire en ſorte que la paix ſeule puiſſe s'accorder avec ſes interêts. Pour cela il me ſemble, que la ſeule voye qui nous eſt offerte, eſt de faire une grande montre de nos forces, de paroitre bien réſolus à la guerre, avant que la guerre commence: car puiſque nous attirons la guerre en voulant trop fortement la paix, il faut tâcher au contraire d'attirer la paix en faiſant toutes les mines de vouloir la guerre.

C'eſt pourquoi, il me ſemble que ce qui reſte à faire, c'eſt de hâter nos préparatifs, & de mettre toutes nos forces en état

tant

Chriſtian King know by our Miniſters, that ſince his Majeſty ſtill declares he is content with the alternative already accepted by the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo, and that all the difficulty his Majeſty finds, is only upon the powers of the ſaid Marquis, and the ſincerity of intentions in the Court of Spain: we therefore deſire his Majeſty to give us ſo much time by a ſuſpenſion of arms, as may be ſufficient to ſend a diſpatch to Madrid, and return to Paris with a full and plain anſwer from the King of Spain upon the alternative. (And truly I think, a month's time will be ſufficient after the diſpatches of our expreſſes from Paris.) But in the mean time to add, that if his Majeſty refuſes us a demand ſo neceſſary to the peace of Chriſtendom, and will ſtill carry on his arms without conſideration of the offers of Spain, or offices of the allies; that, upon the firſt advances he ſhall make to attack the reſt of Flanders, we will march with our forces to defend it, and endeavour farther by all ways to give him a diverſion both by ſea and land.

This I think is all that is left us to do upon the preſent ſtate of affairs, for obtaining the peace: and, as to the inward diſpoſitions of the Spaniards, I will tell you, that there is not one of them here, of

tant par mer que par terre: de faire dire en même tems par nos Miniſtres au Roi très Chrêtien, que puiſque ſa Majeſté paroit diſpoſée à ſe contenter de l'alternative deja acceptée par le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, & que toute la difficulté roule ſur les pouvoirs du dit Marquis, & ſur la ſincerité des intentions de la cour d'Eſpagne; nous la prions de nous accorder par une ſuſpenſion d'armes autant de tems qu'il en faut pour depêcher à Madrid, & de Madrid revenir à Paris avec une réponſe, j'entens une réponſe nette & preciſe de la Reine d'Eſpagne, touchant l'alternative, dont les deux parties temoignent ſe contenter (& pour moi il me ſemble, qu'un mois après le départ de nos couriers de Paris ſera ſuffiſant) d'ajoûter en même tems, que ſi ſa Majeſté nous refuſe une demande ſi neceſſaire au répos de la Chrêtienté, & veut ſans égard pour les offres d'Eſpagne, & les offices des alliés, pouſſer ſes armes plus loin; que ſur la premiere demarche qu'elle fera pour attaquer le reſte des Païs-Bas, nous ferons avancer nos troupes pour les defendre, & tâcherons de produire une puiſſante diverſion tant par mer que par terre.

Voilà ce me ſemble tout ce qui nous reſte à tenter ſur l'état preſent des affaires, afin d'obtenir la paix. Et pour ce qui eſt des diſpoſitions interieures des Eſpagnols, je vous dirai qu'il n'y en a pas un ſeul ici tant ſoit peu conſiderable

of the leaſt conſideration, who does not deſire it, and think it wholly for the preſent intereſt of Spain: and the Marquis aſſures me in confidence, that he has not only the power exhibited, but that the King his Maſter has given him others, by which he leaves him abſolute arbiter of the conditions of the peace, according as conjunctures ſhall ſerve to make him accept either an equal or a diſadvantageous one. And all the delays of Don John ſeem only to proceed from their hopes of a peace upon the project of our treaty.

In the mean time I am glad the States have ſent Monſieur Van Beverning to be at Aix with the Miniſters of both Crowns; I doubt not but the King my Maſter will do the ſame, when he ſhall have received advice of their departure; for forms muſt be obſerved as well as ſubſtance; though for my ſhare I cannot imagine to what effect this congreſs will meet: France having declared itſelf already upon the invalidity of the delegation in particular, as well as of the powers in general. And truly I think, all pretence of negotiation without a ceſſation of arms ſeems a mere jeſt in an affair where two months progreſs in the war may ſo near end the diſpute upon which they pretend to treat. I am, Sir, your, &c.

ſiderable, qui ne la ſouhaite, & qui ne croit y voir l'interét preſent de l'Eſpagne. Le Marquis m'a aſſuré en confiance qu'il n'a pas ſeulement les pouvoirs exhibés, mais de plus, que le Roi lui en a donné encore un autre, par lequel il le rend arbitre abſolu des conditions de la paix, ſelon que les conjunctures le devront determiner à la recevoir à des conditions ou égales ou deſavantageuſes. Et tous les retardemens de Don Juan ne ſemblent provenir que de ce qu'il eſpère une paix conforme au projet de nôtre traité.

En attendant, je ſuis bien aiſe de ce que les Etats font partir Monſieur Van Beverning, pour ſe trouver à Aix avec les Miniſtres des deux Couronnes; je ne doute pas que le Roi mon Maitre ne fâſſe la même demarche, quand il aura reçu avis de leur départ; car il faut ſatisfaire aux formes auſſi bien qu' au fond; quoque pour moi, je ne puiſſe imaginer quel effet reſultera de ce congrès; la France s'étant déja declarée ſur l'invalidité de la delegation en particulier, auſſi bien que ſur les pouvoirs en général. Et pour moi, toute apparence de negociation avant une ceſſation d'armes me paroît une pure mocquerie, ſurtout dans une conjoncture où deux mois de guerre & de progrès peuvent changer la face des choſes, & decider le difference ſur lequel on va traiter. Je ſuis, &c.

To

To Mr. Godolphin.

SIR, Bruſſels, March 27, N. S. 1668.

I Received lately the favour of ſome lines from you in a letter of my wife's, which were the firſt I remember to have ſeen of yours theſe five or ſix months paſt, though I never failed on my part to entertain the commerce between us as became both our ſtations, and the kindneſs with which it began on both ſides, as I thought; I am ſure on mine, till I took your ſilence as a civil declaration that you were willing it ſhould end: and the compliance I was deſirous to ſhew you in all things would not ſuffer me to deny it you in this. I find it very difficult to anſwer your laſt otherwiſe than by giving you thanks for the favour of your remembrance, which indeed I thought had been better employed than upon one who has for ſo long time ſo little deſerved it. For thoſe expreſſions you are pleaſed to uſe ſo much below yourſelf, and ſo much above me, I confeſs they rather confound than oblige me, ſince I am not fond of receiving what I deſpair of returning. I know no reaſon at all I had to be angry with you, but much rather with myſelf, if, having been once poſſeſſed of your friendſhip, you found I did not deſerve it: but, as I reckoned that loſs among my ill fortunes, ſo I ſhall among my good, whenever you return to your former diſpoſitions of favour to me, though the miſery of the ſcene where I live will teach me to be fond of no poſſeſſions that I am in danger of loſing; and, to a plain equal man like me, the certainty of an eſtate ſeems more valuable than the greatneſs of it. But I have as much ambition for my friends advances, as others have for their own; and therefore rejoice in all your good fortunes in Spain, and wiſh you an increaſe of them in your next deſigns. I am, &c.

To

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Bruſſels, April 3, N. S. 1668.

I Received ſome days ſince the honour of one from your Lordſhip of the 9th paſt, and, though I owe all the acknowledgments that can be upon it, yet I will not ſo much wrong your Lordſhip's time, or my own ſincereneſs, as to enlarge them with much ceremony. It will be enough to ſay, that nothing can be more obliging than your favour to me, both in the degree and manner of it, ariſing ſo freely from your Lordſhip's bounty and generouſneſs, as well as expreſſed in a way ſo frank and ſo hearty as that of your laſt letter; and, on the other ſide, that no man can reſent it more, though they may much better deſerve it: and that your Lordſhip can never reckon more truly, nor more juſtly, upon any perſon's eſteem and ſervices, than upon mine, which I humbly beg your Lordſhip to believe. I doubt you will be troubled with my wife's attendances, having told her, your Lordſhip had given her that liberty: if ever ſhe pretends your favour and countenance farther than in receiving what the King has made my due upon this employment while I have it, or what his Majeſty ſhall, from his own motion, aſſign me, upon any new commiſſion; I diſclaim her beforehand, and declare ſhe goes not upon my errand; for I ſhall never think that too little which his Majeſty thinks enough: for the reſt I will be confident neither your Lordſhip nor my Lord Arlington intend I ſhould ruin myſelf by my employments, or that I ſhould, at my own charge, bear out a character, which, of itſelf, is enough to turn round a head that has all its life, till theſe laſt three years, been uſed to ſhade and ſilence. In caſe the occaſion ſhould break, and my journey to Aix ſhould yet fail, I aſk nothing of his Majeſty, though putting

putting myſelf in a poſture to comply with any ſudden neceſſity of it has already forced me to enter into very conſiderable expences: but, in caſe I muſt go, I beg your Lordſhip, that has children, to conſider how hard it would be for me to perform ſuch a journey upon my own credit. Whatever it be his Majeſty thinks fit to aſſign me upon ſuch an occaſion, if he pleaſes to order Alderman Backwell to furniſh me with a letter of credit for ſo much, let it be what it will, I will live according to what that and my own little revenue will reach, and not ſpare any little preſents I have received in his Majeſty's ſervice, where his honour requires it: all I deſire is only not to be forced into debts, which, to ſay the truth, I have ever abhorred, and would by my good will eat dry cruſts, and lie upon the floor, rather than do it upon any other conſideration, than of his Majeſty's immediate commands, and I hope thoſe, his juſtice, and my friends favour, will prevent.

I beg your Lordſhip's pardon for troubling you with this ſtrange freedom about my own concernments, which you have pleaſed to encourage me to, and may at any time check me in it, with the leaſt diſcountenance, which I doubt I have already deſerved. But I will not increaſe or lengthen my faults by excuſes, nor trouble your Lordſhip, by repeating any thing of what my Lord Arlington receives from me at large, upon the courſe of public affairs here; which, though ſeeming to change often in others eyes, appears to me conſtant in the French deſign of a war; which I believe nothing can alter, but the viſible marks of force and ſteadineſs in their neighbours to oppoſe them.

I beg your Lordſhip's belief, that, as I am with very great reaſon, ſo I am with very great paſſion too, my Lord, your, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, April 17, *N. S.*
SIR, 1668.

I Doubt not but you are pleased as much as I at the contents of the last dispatches from Paris, which make us believe, that in two or three days we shall have the suspension of arms to the end of May; and then I do not see the least difficulty that can happen, which we shall not easily avoid in the negotiation of the peace; for I see not how France can draw back, after the satisfaction we are going to give them at Paris: and, for Spain, I never had the least scruple upon their conduct: and I still believe, as I ever did, that, unless we drive them to despair by ill usage, neither the Spanish nation in general, nor the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo in particular, will have recourse to any base evasions. And to speak to you in confidence (as it is necessary between physicians) since the resolution you have talked of about driving the Spaniards wholly out of his country, and cantoning yourselves in it; and since so many violent instances made by your Deputies for signing Monsieur de Lyonne's project without altering a word, or so much as giving the Marquis any as-

A Monsieur de Witt.

Bruxelles, le 17 Avr.
Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

JE ne doute pas que vous ne vous rejouissez autant que moi du contenu des dernieres dépêches de Paris, qui nous donnent lieu de croire que dans deux ou trois jours nous aurons une suspension d'armes jusqu' à la fin de Mai; & cela étant, je ne vois point de difficulté qui puisse survenir, dont nous ne venions facilement à bout dans le cours de la negociation de la paix. Car je ne vois pas comment la France pourra reculer après la satisfaction que nous lui allons donner à Paris. A l'égard d'Espagne, je n'ai jamais eu le moindre scrupule sur sa conduite; & je crois encore, comme l'ai toujours crû, qu'à moins que nous ne la reduisions au desespoir à force de la traiter de haut en bas; ni la nation Espagnole en géneral, ni le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo en particulier, n'auront point recours à de honteux subterfuges. Et pour vous dire en confidence (comme il faut faire entre Médecins) depuis que vous avez parlé de la résolution de chasser les Espagnols des Païs-Bas, & de vous y cantonner; depuis tant d'instances réitérées faites par vos Deputez pour la signature du projet de Monsieur de Lionne, sous la condition de ne rien changer, & même sans lui donner la

surance of assisting him in case France should draw back (according to the orders of the Queen) I have often heard his Excellency say, that, if he were now in the council of Spain, he would give his advice without farther difficulty, for making peace with France by delivering this country up to them, rather than suffer such a treatment from all their neighbours, who are more interested in the loss of it than themselves. For it cannot enter into the Marquis's head, why we should give France more assurances than they desire, in case of Spain's refusing the alternative, and even contrary to our treaty at the Hague; and yet refuse to give Spain the bare assurances of the words of our treaty, in case of France's refusal after having driven Spain to all we can ask. Neither can the Marquis imagine why we press him so much to sign a project word for word from Monsieur de Lyonne, without first using our endeavours at Paris to reduce the affairs of cities in the heart of the country to some reasonable exchange; as we have always promised him, and as I let him see in one of your letters; nay without once endeavouring to hinder the devastations

moindre esperance de l'assister en cas que la France recule, conformement aux ordres de la Reine; depuis celà (dis-je) j'ai souvent oüi dire à son Excellence, que s'il étoit à cette heure au conseil d'Espagne, que son avis seroit, qu'on fit sans marchander l'accord avec la France, en lui donnant tout ce païs, plutôt que d'endurer un traitement pareil de la part de tous les Etats voisins de la Flandre; lesquels doivent être plus interessés dans la perte de ces Provinces, que les Espagnols eux-mêmes. Car il ne peut pas entrer dans l'ésprit du Marquis, que nous donnions à la France plus d'assurance qu'elle n'en desire, supposé le réfus d'Espagne, & cela même contre nôtre traité de la Haye; & que nous refusions à l'Espagne de l'assurer simplement des clauses de notre traité pour elle, en cas que la France réfuse, surtout après avoir poussé l'Espagne à faire tout ce que nous avons voulu. Le Marquis n'imagine point auss, pourquoi nous le pressons tant pour la signature mot-à-mot du projet de Monsieur de Lionne, sans faire par avance tous nos efforts à Paris, pour reduire l'affaire des villes situées dans le cœur des provinces à quelque échange raisonnable: cela lui avoit toujours été promis; & je l'en ai moi-même assuré par une de vos lettres que je lui ai fait voir. Il s'étonne encore pourquoi nous ne fassions pas nos efforts pour empêcher la demolition des places

vastations in the Franche Compté. So that by this project, he sees clearly, he must be confined within Brussels as in a prison, shut up by French garrisons, within seven leagues of him on one side, and eight on the other; and that Burgundy may be invaded as an open country, without the possibility of defending it a day. And, if the peace be made upon these terms, every one may see that France will only wait till we are engaged in a quarrel with our neighbours, or till some misunderstanding happen between our two nations, to finish the conquest of this country, which they may do in fifteen days. However, the Marquis says, that, in case we will give him assurances to follow the third of our separate articles, he is ready to sign himself, or give powers to sign even Monsieur de Lyonne's project immediately, as the foundation of the treaty; and will rely upon our good offices to negotiate either some convenient exchange for Burgundy, or to have it restored in the condition it was taken; or else find means to repair the towns demolished. In case you will not be persuaded to give him these assurances, we must endeavour to finish it altogether at Aix, whither I shall begin my journey as soon as we shall have received the suspen-

places dans la Franche Comté. De sorte qu'il voit très-clairement, que par ce projet il sera dans Bruxelles comme en prison, ou en ôtage à l'égard de la France, ses garnisons d'un côté n'en étant qu'à huit lieües, & de l'autre qu'à sept. Il voit de plus que, les forces de France entreront dans la Bourgogne comme dans un plat païs, sans qu'on la puisse couvrir un jour entier. Que si la paix se fait dans ces termes; tout le monde voit que la France n'attendra que le moment de la premiere desunion entre quelqu'uns de nos voisins, ou de la plus legere mesintelligence entre nos deux nations, pour achever la conquête des Païs-Bas, qui ne lui coutera plus de quinze jours. Pourtant le Marquis dit, qu'en cas que nous lui donnions des assurances de poursuivre le troisième de nos articles séparés, il est prêt de signer ou donner les pouvoirs de signer le projet même selon les termes de Monsieur de Lionne, comme servant de fondement au traité: qu'il s'en remettra à nos soins & à nos bons offices pour la negociation de quelque échange commode à l'égard de la Bourgogne, ou bien d'une restitution en l'état où elle a été prise, ou pour trouver les moyens de reparer les villes demolies. En cas que vous lui refusiez à tous ces égards les assurances qu'il demande, il faudra que nous tâchions de reprendre & d'achever le tout ensemble, & d'un même filet à Aix la Cha-

ſuſpenſion of arms. And I ſhall not fail to purſue, as effectually as I can, both there and at other places, the accompliſhment of this great affair; and ſhall be glad to receive your advice, from time to time, upon the conduct of this negotiation.

Before I go, I muſt tell you freely, that, the leſs of buſineſs you leave between the Marquis and your Deputies here, I think it will be ſo much the better for the general affair: for, in one word, they are not perſons made for each other; the Marquis being of a humour rather to die than be governed in the management of buſineſs: and he ſays, Monſ. Bourgerſdycke is a man not to be employed but where you abſolutely give the law. I have already hinted ſomething of this to you; but now I think it neceſſary you ſhould be informed of it, that you may do thereupon as you ſhall find convenient; for I have not obſerved one thing in the courſe of this affair, which you and I could not have compaſſed without the leaſt heat or diſcontent: and I will not tell you the pain and cares I have been at to manage matters between them, and prevent their breaking out into violences upon ſo many occaſions; which I endeavoured by all means to avoid;

pelle; où je commencerai à m'acheminer dès que nous aurons reçu nouvelle de la ſuſpenſion d'armes, & je ne manquerai pas là, non plus qu'ailleurs, de pourſuivre de tout mon pouvoir la concluſion de cette grande affaire. Je ſerai bien-aiſe de recevoir de tems en tems vos avis ſur la manière dont cette negociation ſera conduite.

Avant que je parte, il faut que je vous diſe franchement, que le moins d'affaires que vous donnerez à diſcuter avec le Marquis à vos Deputés, ſera le meilleur pour la cauſe commune; car, en un mot, ce ne ſont point des gens faits les uns pour les autres. Le Marquis eſt d'un humeur à braver plutôt la mort, que de ſouffrir d'être matriſé dans la conduite & le maniement des affaires. Il dit, que Monſieur Bourgerſdycke n'eſt propre à être employé que dans les lieux où vous donnez ſouverainement la loi. Je vous en avois déjà touché quelque choſe, mais je croi à cette heure qu'il eſt neceſſaire de vous le dire, afin que ſur cela vous en uſiez comme vous le jugerez à propos. Je n'ai encore rien remarqué dans le cours de cette affaire dont je ne fûſſe venu à bout avec vous ſans le moindre chagrin, mais même avec agrément; et je ne vous dirai point les peines & les ſoucis que j'ai eu à menager toutes choſes entr' eux, & à prevenir des éclats & les reparties picquantes qu'ils étoient prêts de ſe faire à tout bout de

avoid; becauſe I know the diſpoſitions of Miniſters are often infuſed into their maſters. I ſee nothing in the world that can hinder the peace at preſent, unleſs France finds ſome miſunderſtandings between us and Spain. To tell you the truth, many people would perſuade me, that you have changed your meaſures ſince I left Holland: but I anſwer every body, that I truſt ſo much to the ſincerity of your proceedings, that I do not doubt, but, if it were ſo, yourſelf would be the firſt to inform me.

You ſee what confidence I have in your perſon, and you may ſafely have the ſame in that of, Sir, your, &c.

de champ; j'ai employé pour cela toute mon adreſſe; car je faiſois cette reflexion, que les diſpoſitions, ou, ſi vous voulez, les paſſions des Miniſtres ont une grande influence ſur celles des maîtres. A cette heure je ne vois plus rien qui puiſſe empêcher la paix, ſi ce n'eſt que la France vit la diſſenſion ſe gliſſer entre l'Eſpagne & nous. A ne vous rien céler, il y a ici beaucoup de gens qui voudroient bien me perſuader que vous avez changé de meſures depuis mon départ d'Hollande; mais je leur répons à tous, que je me repoſe ſi fort ſur vôtre ſincerité, & à la candeur de vôtre procédé, que ſuppoſé que ce qu'ils diſent fût, vous auriez été le premier à m'en inſtruire.

Voila quelle eſt la confiance que j'ai en vous, & vous pouvez avoir la même en, Monſieur, votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Aix, April 28, N. S. 1668.

I Never writ to your Lordſhip in worſe health, nor in worſe humour, and therefore you could never receive a worſe letter than this is like to be. The ceremonies of my journey your Lordſhip ſhall find in a letter to Mr. Williamſon, ſo ſoon as a fever, which is now upon me, gives me leave to ſay one word more than what I think of abſolute neceſſity; for ſo, I conceive, all I have now written to the Marquis is. The deſpight of ſeeing the Baron de Bergeyck yet refuſe to ſign the project of the treaty, without another diſ-

patch from the Marquis, after that I brought him, is enough to lose all patience; my ill humour, I confess, is not lessened by seeing myself here, with equal character to other Ministers, and without possibility, in this place, of putting myself in an equipage suitable to them, which I could not think possible neither to provide myself before my journey, considering the uncertainty of it almost to the very last, and the assurance I came with from the Marquis of the treaty's being signed the first moment. I assured the Marquis de Bergeyck, that I thought it necessary, so that I hoped three days would end our business, which I believed his Majesty would unwillingly see done without his intervention, and would be content to have all men think as they have done here, ever since the convention began (and perhaps every-where else) that nothing could be done till the King's Minister came, and that would immediately close the affair. The rest I must refer to the inclosed copy of my letter this night to the Marquis, by an express; and beg your Lordship to give me leave to rest a very weary distempered head, which yet can never forget how much I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Aix, April 28, *N. S.* 1668.

My Lord,

I Arrived yesterday in this city. This afternoon I received a visit from the Baron de Bergeyck, and another from Monsieur Colbert. I treated them both equally, upon a message by a gentleman sent from the Baron to inform me, that he was already qualified Ambassador of Spain, by the letters and

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

A Aix, le 28 Avr. S. N. 1668.

Monsieur,

J'Arrivai hier en cette ville. J'ai reçu cette après-dinée une visite de la part du Baron de Bergeyck, & une autre de la part de Monsieur Colbert. Je les ai traités tous également, sur la parole que le gentilhomme envoyé de la part du Baron m'a donnée, que son maître étoit deja revêtu du titre d'Ambassadeur, & qu'il étoit muni des lettres & des

and powers of the Queen herself. Monsieur Beverning visited me this morning incognito; and all that a great indisposition will suffer me to tell you at present is this: that it is not possible to make any other paces for saving the Netherlands, but by immediately signing the project sent to the Baron de Bergeyck: for every body expected the signing of it upon my arrival. The French Ambassador declares everywhere, as he has already done to me, that he is ready to sign this very evening, and in all points as they have been couched by our own Ministers at Paris. And, if the Baron makes any exceptions or difficulties, he is ready to give answer thereupon, according to his instructions, and as he shall think convenient: but that Spain must impute to itself whatever may happen by this loss of time. I see plainly, he is ready to second and assist the Baron de Bergeyck in any delays that may be given to the affair; and foreseeing that it must at length pass in the words of this project, since we and Holland are already engaged about it at Paris; he hopes either to see the affair break, or to have the honour to make Spain yield at last upon all difficulties they first raised. In the mean while, Monsieur Beverning pretends to

des pleins-pouvoirs de la Reine elle-même. Monsieur Beverning m'a aussi visité incognito ce matin; & tout ce qu'une grande indisposition qui me retient à present permet que je dise à V. E. c'est, qu'il ne reste plus d'autre demarche à faire pour sauver les Païs-Bas, que de signer incessamment le projet envoyé au Baron de Bergeyck; cela est si vrai que même à mon arrivée tout le monde en attendoit la signature. Celui de France declare par tout, après avoir declaré à moi-même, qu'il est prêt de signer dès ce soir même tous les points, tels qu'ils ont été couchés par nos Ministres à Paris. Que si le Baron de Bergeyck fait ou des difficultés, ou des exceptions, il donnera ses réponses conformement à ses instructions, & selon l'exigence des choses; & qu'après tout, l'Espagne ne doit attribuer qu'à elle seule les malheurs qui peuvent naitre de tant de délais & de tems perdu. Je vois fort bien, qu'il est prêt à suivre & à aider le Baron de Bergeyck dans tous les retardemens qu'on pourra apporter à la conclusion de cette affaire; & que prevoyant que l'Espagne doit enfin s'accommoder des conditions & des termes du traité, vû l'engagement où la Hollande & nous sommes deja entrés par nos Ministres à Paris; il se promet ou d'avoir l'affaire se rompre, ou d'avoir la gloire de faire ceder l'Espagne sur toutes les difficultés qu'elle aura mises en avant: cependant,

to think, that, after the orders given to the Baron de Bergeyck, and the copies of them ſent into Holland, no difficulties can ariſe upon the ſigning: and, for me, I cannot refuſe to carry the orders, and am in the greateſt pain imaginable to ſee the Baron ſtill make a difficulty to ſign without another order from your Excellency. Therefore I deſire you, in the name of all thoſe who wiſh well to the affairs of Spain and of Chriſtendom, to diſpatch an expreſs command to the Baron, to ſign without farther trifling, and to ſend him inſtructions for any thing that your Excellency ſhall find convenient to have negotiated afterwards; in which I ſhall have Monſieur Beverning's aſſiſtance, but not at all before the project is ſigned.

If your Excellency will not think fit to comply with this, I diſcharge myſelf at leaſt of all the fatal effects that may arrive upon it. I deſire your Excellency yet once more to grant this diſpatch to the inſtances of one who had ſounded the bottom of this affair with all poſſible attention, and all the reflections I am capable of making; and who forms a judgment of it, without other paſſion than that I have for the preſervation of Flanders. I am, &c.

Monſieur Beverning ne s'attend point à voir ſuſciter de nouveaux obſtacles, & de nouvelles difficultés touchant cette ſignature, après des ordres donnés au Baron de Bergeyck, & dont les copies ont été envoyées en Hollande. Pour moi, après l'avoir promis, je n'ai pû reculer à porter les ordres, & je ſuis dans la plus grande peine du monde de voir que le Baron de Bergeyck fait difficulté de ſigner avant que d'avoir reçû un autre ordre de V. E. c'eſt pourquoi, je la ſupplie, au nom de tous ceux qui ſouhaitent le bien des affaires d'Eſpagne & de la Chrêtienté, d'ordonner par un commandement exprès, que l'ordre ſoit ſigné, & qu'on n'y marchande plus. V. E. donnera auſſi ſes avis au Baron de Bergeyck touchant ce qu'elle trouvera bon qui ſoit negocié dans la ſuite; cela fait, je pourrai compter ſur le ſecours & l'aide de M. Beverning, du quel je n'attens rien tandis que la choſe ſera comme elle eſt.

En cas que V. E. ſuive d'autres voyes, je me décharge par avance de toutes les ſuites funeſtes qui en pourront arriver. Je ſupplie encore une fois V. E. de donner cela aux inſtances d'une perſonne qui a approfondi cette affaire avec toute l'attention & la reflexion dont je ſuis capable; & qui en porte un jugement exempt de paſſion, excepté celle qu'il a pour la conſervation des Païs-Bas. Je ſuis, &c.

To

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Aix, April 30, N. S. 1668.

IN the hurry of theſe expreſſes to Bruſſels, all that I can poſſibly do, is to give your Lordſhip the account of the ſtate of our buſineſs here, in the copy of thoſe letters I am forced to write to the Marquis. To which end the Ambaſſadors of Spain and Holland have been very often with me already, though I have not yet ſtirred out of doors, and they are but now gone ſucceſſively from my bed-ſide. The fruits of our conferences your Lordſhip will find in the incloſed, and will pardon me for doing nothing more at this time, than barely acknowledging, and that in extreme haſte, yours of the 10th and 13th, which are come here to my hands: the torn paper is an original of a poſtſcript I received juſt now in a letter from Monſieur de Witt, which I ſend in anſwer to one I had lately from your Lordſhip. The incloſed from my Secretary to Mr. Williamſon gives account of all the ceremonies that have been hitherto paſt. I am ever, &c.

To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Aix, April 30,
My Lord, *N. S.* 1668.

I Am very much indiſpoſed, and God keep me from thoſe accidents, which the deſpight I have upon the preſent courſe of affairs may cauſe in my illneſs. All I have to ſay is, that the Ambaſſador of France has orders not to change a word in the

Au Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo.

A Aix, le 30 Avr.
Monſieur, S. N. 1668.

JE trouve ma ſanté fort ébranlée, & à Dieu ne plaiſe que les accidens, qu'eſt capable de me cauſer le dépit que je reſſens du train que prennent les affaires, viennent ſe joindre à mon indiſpoſition. Tout ce que j'ai à dire c'eſt, que l'Ambaſſadeur de France

the project as prepared by our Ministers at Paris: the Dutch Ambassador has the same orders from his masters: the Nuncio presses the signing without any change; and all the German Ministers are of the same opinion.

The Baron refuses to sign without another order from Brussels: upon which the French Ambassador presses both me and Monsieur Beverning to give him an act, wherein we are to witness, that he has been ready to sign ever since the arrival of the project. The Dutch Ambassador protests he cannot refuse; and besides, that, if the Baron will not sign to-morrow, he will depart, and return for Holland. The most Christian King has sent all his officers into the field, and intends to follow them in person: so that our Ministers at Paris apprehend some new accidents, unless they are prevented by signing the treaty. For myself, I have instructions to use all means for advancing the peace in concert with the Dutch Ambassador; and can by no means disagree with his resolutions. I bear with what patience I can the mortification to see that I must pass for a person whom your Excellency has imposed on, by giving me an order which your Minister was not to

France a ordre de ne changer pas un seul mot au projet de nos Ministres qui sont à Paris. Celui d'Hollande a les mêmes ordres; le Nonce du Pape presse la signature, & insiste sur le même point: enfin tous les Ministres d'Allemagne sont dans le même sentiment.

Le Baron de Bergeyck refuse à signer sans un nouvel ordre de Bruxelles: là-dessus l'Ambassadeur de France presse & moi & Monsieur Beverning de lui donner un acte, dans lequel nous temoignions, que, depuis l'arrivée du projet, il a été tous les jours prêt à signer. L'Ambassadeur d'Hollande proteste qu'il ne peut pas le lui refuser; & que même, si le Baron de Bergeyck ne signe pas dans la journée de demain, il partira d'ici pour s'en retourner en Hollande. Le Roy Très Chrétien a fait partir tous ses Officiers pour aller ouvrir la campagne, & il pretend les suivre en personne; de sorte que nos Ministres à Paris apprehendent de nouveaux desordres, si on n'arrête tout ce grand mouvement par la signature du traité. Pour moi, les instructions que j'ai reçûes, portent que je n'épargne rien pour avancer la paix, & que je fâsse toutes choses de concert avec l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & je ne puis en aucune sorte me départir de ses resolutions. Je porte le plus patiemment que je puis, la mortification de passer pour un homme dont V. E. s'est jouée, lors qu'

elle

to obey: but I cannot bear with patience to see that the affairs of all Christendom must be absolutely ruined by a caprice of the Baron de Bergeyck. For I will not, as others do, impute to your Excellency such a feint as that of drawing from us all assurances you demanded, upon your promise of immediately signing the treaty, and then of giving me a sort of order to the Baron, contradicted before by a counter order in secret.

I should not have left Brussels, had not your Excellency assured me, that the Baron should sign without delay, whenever I judged it necessary. I now find it so; and have told him it is so very necessary, that, I believe, France would not have carried greater advantages, nor triumphed more upon the winning of a battle, than on the advances they have made in this affair.

For myself, I was never in my life in greater mortification, than what I have borne in this affair. I am, &c.

elle m'a fait expedier un ordre auquel on ne devoit pas obéir, & que votre Ministre a en effet éludé; mais je ne puis voir qu'avec la dernière enquietude que toutes les affaires de la Chrêtienté se brouillent & se perdent par le seul caprice du Baron de Bergeyck. Car je me garde bien de supposer, comme les autres, une feinte en V. E. & de lui attribuer de nous avoir tendu un piege, en tirant de nous les assurances demandées, sur la promesse de faire aussitôt signer le traité; & ensuite de m'avoir chargé d'un ordre pour le Baron de Bergeyck, qui par avance étoit détruit par une instruction secrette.

Je n'aurois jamais parti de Bruxelles, si V. E. ne m'avoit assuré de bouche, que le Baron signeroit sans y manquer tout aussitôt que je jugerois la chose absolument necessaire. Nous nous sommes vus, & je lui ai representé la chose si pressée, si necessaire, que je croi que la France n'a pas remporté plus d'avantage, ni ne se soit érigée à elle-même un plus grand triomphe par le gain d'une bataille que par les avances qu'elle a faites en cette occasion.

Pour moi, je n'ai eu de ma vie une plus grande mortification que celle que j'ai essuyée en cette rencontre. Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Williamſon.

SIR, Aix, April 30, N. S. 1668.

MY Maſter being kept in his bed by an illneſs that ſeized him the firſt night of his arrival here, and ſince increaſed upon him by the conſtraints he was forced to the next day in the reception of the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, hath commanded me to give you the account of his journey hither; and deſires you will help it to paſs with my Lord Arlington for that promiſe, which he made in his laſt, of doing it himſelf to his Lordſhip upon the next occaſion.

He parted from Bruſſels upon the 24th of this month with nine and twenty perſons in his company, of which ten in his own livery. Beſides thoſe who belonged to him, my Lord Stafford, Captain Brumidge, and Captain Weſely, did him the favour to accompany him in his journey, and twenty of the Marquis's guard for his ſecurity, till he came the ſecond night into the land of Liege. The firſt night at Louvain paſſed without any ceremony, not taking upon him any new character in the Spaniſh dominions: the ſecond night he lodged at Hirkinraedt, a very rich Abbey of Bernardin nuns, where he was received as the King of England's Ambaſſador. The next morning the Magiſtrates of the town of Haſſel ſent to inform whether he paſſed by their town of Haſſel in his way to Maeſtricht, to the end they might do him the honour due to his character: but my Maſter deſiring to avoid thoſe ceremonies choſe to paſs a private way about a mile from the town; however, he found all the road where it lay over-againſt the town crouded with people, and among them the Magiſtrates of the town, who in the highway entertained him with a ſpeech, a banquet, great ſtore of wine,

wine, and all the great guns of the town at the ſame time.

The ſame night he arrived at Maeſtricht, having only ſent an ordinary ſervant before to take up his lodgings: near the town he was met by a Gentleman from the Rhingrave, to tell him, that, if the hour of his arrival had been known, he would himſelf have met him on the way; but however would not fail to do it at his coming to town. He was received there by all the great guns of the town, the garriſon ranged through the ſtreets as he paſſed, and at the end of them a volley of their ſmall ſhot. At his inn he was immediately viſited by the Rhingrave, and after him by the Magiſtrates of the town. The next morning he returned a viſit to the Rhingrave, who would by force accompany him back to his inn. As he went out, he had all the great guns of the town thrice round, and greater vollies of ſhot than the night before, and the Rhingrave met him in his coach about half a mile out of town, to perform his laſt compliment, having told my Lord Stafford that he had expreſs orders from the States to do all the honour that was poſſible both to his character and his perſon.

From Maeſtricht, he ſent a letter to the Baron de Fraiſheim here, to give him notice of his intended arrival upon Friday the 27th, but, withal, to deſire him to keep it private, that ſo he might enter with little noiſe or ceremony, in regard he came upon a ſudden journey and a very ſhort ſtay, and therefore with the train of the King's Reſident at Bruſſels, rather than that of his Ambaſſador. The Baron de Fraiſheim did his part in ſuppreſſing the knowledge of it, but the town, having notice by orders they had given at Maeſtricht to that purpoſe, ſent one to meet him in the midway with a compliment, and deſire that they might receive him as they had done other Ambaſſa-

dors. My Maſter referred it to them to do as they pleaſed, and the rather becauſe he heard that the French Ambaſſador had made a ſolemn entry about ſix days before, with a very great train and ceremony; and he thought, by this more private entry, to avoid the expectation of any other: ſo he was received in the town with all the guns and the Burghers in arms, and complimented immediately at his arrival both from the Magiſtrates of the town, and a Commander of the Duke of Newburg's to aſſure him that the Duke had given him orders for two hundred horſe to attend him upon the confines, and to accompany him into the town, as he had done the French ambaſſador at his ſolemn entry, and that the Baron of Fraiſheim's aſſurance of his deſiring to enter privately had only prevented that attendance.

The night of his arrival, my Maſter went about ten o'clock incognito to the Dutch Ambaſſador's houſe, reſolving to tell him, that, upon his arrival here, he intended to live after another ſort with him than with any of the other Ambaſſadors, as well in reſpect of the near alliance between their Maſters, as of their mediation. The Dutch Ambaſſador happened to be in bed, but, having heard of my Maſter's intentions, came and viſited him early the next morning without train or ceremony, and gave him full information of all that had paſſed here, which made good what we met with every-where upon the road, that nothing in the peace could be done till the arrival of the King's Ambaſſador here.

My Maſter's indiſpoſition that morning delayed his ſending to give the ſeveral public Miniſters advice of his arrival till about ten o'clock, and then he was prevented by compliments; firſt from the French, and then from the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, which were returned that morning, and ſucceeded in the afternoon by viſits from them both in the ſame order.

My

My Maſter, upon his firſt interview with the Holland Ambaſſador, enquired of him what intercourſe had paſſed between him and the Pope' nuncio; and finding that, after ſome offices by third perſons between them, it had ſtopped upon ſome difficulties without coming to any viſits or formal compliments; he ſpake to my Lord Stafford, when he made a viſit of himſelf to the Nuncio, to let him know in common converſation, that my maſter, finding, by what had paſſed between him and the Dutch Ambaſſador, that the ſame difficulties were like to befal him, had omitted to give him any advice of his arrival, but to tell him, at the ſame time, that he was very much a ſervant to the merits of the Cardinal Padrone, upon his acquaintance with him at Bruſſels, and was very glad to hear of the continuance of his health ſince his laſt recovery: and ſo that matter ended, as I ſuppoſe: my Maſter having no inſtruction in that point, and therefore deſiring, as civilly as he could, to take this occaſion of avoiding farther commerce with him. I have nothing elſe worth giving you the trouble of, but am, Sir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

Tho. Downton.

To the Elector of Mentz.

Aix, May 2,
SIR, *N. S.* 1668.

THough my own indiſpoſition, and Monſieur Schouborne's affairs, deprived me of the happineſs of ſeeing him ſince my arrival in this city, I would not however delay any longer to acknowledge the honour of your Highneſs's letter of the 12th paſt, and to make you the offers of my ſervices (ſince

A l'Electeur de Mayence.

Aix, le 2 May,
Monſieur, S. N. 1668.

QUoique mon indiſpoſition, & les affaires de Monſieur Schouborne m'ayent empêché de le voir depuis mon arrivée en cette ville; je n'ai pourtant pas voulu differer plus longtems ſans me ſervir de cette voye pour reconnoître l'honneur que V. A. m'a fait par ſa lettre du 12 *du paſſé, & ſans lui envoyer dans une des miennes les offres de mes ſervices;*

(since of the King my Master's affection your Highness wants no testimonies.) In the mean while I send your Highness the agreeable news of the peace, the treaties whereof I have at present in my hands; one signed in presence of the Dutch Ambassador, and the other in mine; which I was glad to obtain by precaution, so to surmount the difficulties raised upon delivering the instruments to the Nuncio. I give your Highness joy of an affair so important to the happiness of Germany; and your Highness may justly do the same to the King my master, who, though at distance, and out of danger of this flame, has however contributed more to the extinguishing of it, than all those who were most interested in the neighbourhood. And, since this peace, as well as that of Portugal, has so justly given his Majesty a rank so high among the *Pacifici*; your Highness will join your prayers to mine, that God Almighty will please to add also to his character the *Beati*. And, as your Highness has all reason to believe the King my Master your friend, so I beg your Highness to esteem me always, Sir, your Highness's most, &c.

services; je dis de mes services, car pour l'affection du Roi mon Maître elle est assez connuë à V. A. & n'a pas besoin de mon temoignage. En même tems je donnerai à V. A. une nouvelle bien agréable, puisque je lui apprendrai que la paix est conclue, & qu'à l'heure que je lui écris, les traités en sont entre mes mains; l'un signé en presence de l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & l'autre en la mienne, ce que j'ai été bien-aise d'obtenir par precaution, & afin de surmonter les difficultés survenuës lors qu'on a livré les instrumens à Monsieur le Nonce. Je donne à V. A. toute la joye d'une affaire qui importoit au bonheur de l'Allemagne, comme elle la donnera avec justice au Roi mon Maître; car, quoiqu' éloigné & à couvert des flammes qui devoroient tant de païs, on dira pourtant avec justice qu'il a seul plus contribué a éteindre cet embrasement, que tous ceux qui en étoient & les plus voisins & les plus alarmés. Et puisque cette paix, aussi bien que celle de Portugal, a si legitimement placé sa Majesté dans le plus haut rang entre les Pacifici; V. A. joindra ses prières aux miennes, afin que le bon Dieu y ajoute aussi les Beati. Et comme elle a tout lieu de croire le Roi mon Maitre de ses amis, je la prie aussi de m'estimer toûjours, Monsieur, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Aix, May 8, N. S. 1668.

SInce my last I have received your Lordship's of the 17th and 20th, which both complain of the ill state wherein the Swedish treaty then stood, and command my applications to the Marquis for a remedy.

I have infused it all I could possibly into the Baron de Bergeyck at his return from hence to Brussels, which was in haste, and immediately after the signing and dispatching away the instruments of the treaty. Some here attribute his haste to an intention of avoiding any speech of a general guaranty for the peace, which, with so many difficulties and delays before the signing, as well as so many declamations against the violence and injustice in pressing him to it, are evidence enough of the force by which the Spaniards have been compelled to it; though I doubt of their being this age in a condition of making better use of it. For my part, I was of opinion, that since Don John was neither arrived with supplies, nor hardly expected in any time; since Holland was so desperately bent upon the peace, without any respect to the Spanish honour or interest farther than joined immediately with their own; since Spain had not been able to find means to engage his Majesty or Sweden in their quarrel by supplies necessary to both Crowns; and since his Majesty was not in a condition of entering into the business single, upon considerations of honour, justice, or a remote danger: and consequently, since upon the projects made both at a time in Paris, it grew evident to Spain, *Qu'il fallait passer par là ou par les fenestres:* upon all these considerations, I say, I was of opinion that the Spaniards business was to end frankly and immediately upon my arrival here, there-

by to have more time for bringing the ratifications of the treaty ſigned here from Spain within this month, and ſo avoid all pretexts (which I expected) of France's breaking the buſineſs, and which I knew they would be ſtrongly tempted to by the Spaniards want or neglect of preparations, and by our diſconcert for their defence. Upon theſe conſiderations, I confeſs, I have preſſed as hard upon the Baron de Bergeyck, as the Dutch Ambaſſador himſelf, to finiſh the affair, ever ſince my arrival, and was at an end of my patience to ſee him ſtop it upon ſuch ſlight and unreaſonable pretences as his two laſt; which were, firſt, not to inſert his powers, becauſe both his and thoſe of France were ſharp upon the riſe of the war; but Monſieur Colbert's were ſent in that ſtyle ſince his arrival here, and only in return of the Marquis's, ſince thoſe he brought with him were ſoft and without any reflections: the Baron had been adviſed by Monſieur Beverning at his firſt coming to have them changed, had three weeks to do it, and yet made no difficulty upon it till after the treaty was ſigned, and the powers came to be inſerted, which he refuſed to ſuffer, ſaying, he expected new and ſofter powers within two or three days, and in the mean time would have had the inſtruments diſpatched away without any tranſcription of the powers, though in the treaty mentioned as inſerted: and I believe France would not have wiſhed a better occaſion to delay the buſineſs beyond a poſſibility of being ratified within the time. This difficulty took up a whole day after the ſigning; and, when the Baron was beaten out of it by main force, he threw us upon a worſe; for whereas his firſt powers, and all he had ever given copies of, or mentioned to any Miniſter here, had only run, as deputed from the Marquis with the ſame power to treat and conclude as if his Majeſty had been here in perſon; when he inſerted his powers, after having made Monſieur Colbert's

bert's express to stay a whole day, he brings the instrument with a power agreeing in all words with the first, but only those of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary joined to his deputation, which put Monsieur Colbert into such a rage, that he was ready to tear all in pieces; and, for five hours, Monsieur Beverning and I could draw no other answer from the Baron, but that it was impossible for him to do any otherwise, protesting he had no other power here, the first having been returned to the Marquis upon the transmission of this, the advice of which he said he had received from Monsieur Beverning. With Monsieur Colbert we had no hopes of prevailing to have his new style allowed, nor had we indeed any reason to press it, being offered upon a surprise, and there being no colour for the Marquis being qualified to send an Ambassador upon this occasion: I was five hours upon the rack with the opinion the business would absolutely break by the delays this would occasion; and indeed out of all patience with the Baron, not believing it possible he could be without his first powers by him; and Monsieur Beverning and he were at those heighths, that they were several times upon the point of drawing their swords in my room, and I believe had done it in any other place. But, after all, the Baron confessed he had his first powers, and order to insert them if he could not make the other pass, but instructions to endeavour that to the utmost; which, to give him his due, he acted to a heighth that I could never have done without straining my own truth as well as my business. And so upon the 4th at night all ended. My dissatisfaction with the Baron de Bergeyck's conduct since I came hither was, I confess, very great, and my expressions upon it very free in my several expresses to the Marquis, who, it seems, takes part in it, and owns it so far, as to seem most extremely ill satisfied with the Ministers using so much earnestness

here in beating him out of all thoſe deſigns. I have had three ſeveral letters from his Excellency, ſince my being here, upon that ſubject, but all ſo ill-humoured and ſo *impertees*, that I think they had been better ſpared, and, though what was particular to me, civil enough, yet ſome expreſſions concerning the general proceeding, wherein I had the chiefeſt part, ſo *piquantes*, that I think I have reaſon to reſent, and am ſure have not deſerved it from any public Miniſter either there or here; and, having anſwered them accordingly, I know not upon what terms we are like to be upon my return; and therefore could not forbear giving your Lordſhip the trouble of this relation, to juſtify myſelf not only to your Lordſhip, for there I am ſure it will not need; but, if you think fit, to the Count Molina, and the Baron d'Iſola too, who may perhaps have received letters from the Marquis upon our proceedings here of the ſame ſtyle that I have done.

I have been the more earneſt in bringing this matter to an iſſue here (which the Holland Ambaſſador ſays had never been done without me) becauſe I conceived by all I have had from your Lordſhip, as well as from other hands, not only that you deſired it in England, but that the peace was neceſſary for the conſtitution of his Majeſty's preſent affairs: and, ſince he has had the glory of making two peaces ſo important, we have now nothing to wiſh but to ſee him in a condition to make war as well as peace, whenever the honour and intereſts of his Crowns ſhall make it neceſſary; for that neceſſity can, I ſuppoſe, be no ways long avoided, but by our being in a poſture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make advantage of it. And I think the beſt time to fall into counſels tending to this great end will be after the concluſion of this general peace, when no engagement abroad forces his Majeſty to have ſo much need of money from his people. For the

the time to repair the harms that ſtorms have done a houſe, is in fair weather; and, to mend a leaky ſhip, ſhe muſt be brought aſhore.

God of heaven ſend your Lordſhip to be an happy inſtrument in the propoſal and application of ſuch counſels, and that we may take warning by the poor Spaniards example, whoſe ill conduct of late in the government has ſo far ſubjected them to their neighbours diſeſteem, and inſolence, and humour, as well as to their conqueſts, violence, and oppreſſion; which I confeſs have been enough to put them upon ſuch deſperate counſels, as your Lordſhip mentions, of giving up all to the French in theſe countries, rather than be the bare guardians of others frontiers. And yet all theſe misfortunes are the natural conſequences of their conduct, and will never fail befalling any Prince that follows their example. I wiſh that might befal the French to temper a little ſuch an over-grown greatneſs; but I doubt it much, from the preſent King's diſpoſitions, among whoſe qualities thoſe of careleſſneſs or laviſhing his treaſures, I am afraid, are none: therefore I wiſh him engaged in ſome very charming pleaſures, or elſe in ſome more difficult enterpriſes than his laſt, and where we may not have ſo great a ſhare: that which they talk on here may poſſibly prove ſo, which is drawing or forcing the Empire to chuſe the Dauphin King of the Romans; for though his party be grown ſtrangely powerful in Germany, and, if Brandenburgh be fallen into it as is believed, none will be left to the Houſe of Auſtria that I know of, unleſs Saxony and Triers; yet ſuch a body, ſo differently compoſed as the Empire, ſhould methinks very hardly move all one way in any new courſe.

Monſieur Colbert talks of his maſter's ſending immediately ten or fifteen thouſand men for the relief of Candy, which were a glorious and Chriſtian counſel,

and, in all ways that can be, to be cherished and applauded: and, if any offices could be done towards engaging the French Court in that design by us or the Dutch, I think they are not ill bestowed; about which I have entertained Monsieur Beverning, who is of my mind, and have insinuated the same notions among the German Ministers here, who swallow it greedily; and I hope it may take effect, and help to free all these parts of the jealousy which so great an army must needs give, as this peace is like to leave idle upon the French hands.

I intend to begin my journey to Brussels to-morrow, Monsieur Beverning being gone to-day; but I doubt I shall be five or six days upon the way, any thing now that presses me to more than ordinary haste.

I received 600 l. owing me upon my employment there before my coming away, and was very sorry to find by a letter of my wife's, that the fear she had of my being disappointed in that particular made her draw up a memorial, which it seems the counsel was troubled with, about my private concernments. I may very truly and justly disown it, as I do, and hope she will be pardoned for too forward a care and concernment in that business: for, as to the charge of my journey here, when your Lordship thinks fit to command it, I shall send you the exact account, which my secretary keeps, of all I spend, and leave it in your Lordship's hands, for his Majesty to do as he pleases in it; which is all the trouble I shall give you or myself about it. I am ever, with equal passion and truth, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Aix, May 8,
My Lord, *N. S.* 1668.

I Received yours of the 4th instant; and am glad your Excellency is so extremely satisfied with the moderation (as you are pleased to style it) of the Baron de Bergeyck, while at the same time you are so much provoked at the complaints I made of his conduct here. I shall always openly confess, that seeing Don Juan's arrival with the intended supplies delayed, and perhaps wholly frustrated; seeing Holland so desperately fond of the peace, without considering the interests of Spain; seeing the Emperor appear wholly disinterested in the matter; seeing Spain had used no endeavours to engage the King my Master, or Sweden, otherwise than by fair words; and that his Majesty was not in a condition to enter into the affair alone, upon pure considerations of generosity or of a danger at distance: seeing also, that Spain approved even the first project of peace drawn by Monsieur de Lionne: I thought, upon all these considerations, that it was their interest sincerely to finish the affair, and gain the most time possible, to get the ratifications from Madrid; and by that

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

Aix, 8 May,
Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

J'Ai reçû la vôtre du 4. *de ce mois; & je suis bien aise que V. E. s'est si fort satisfaite de ce qu'elle appelle la moderation du Baron de Bergeyck, pendant qu'elle temoigne être si picquée de l'aigreur que j'ai fait paroître en me plaignant ici de son procédé. J'avouerai tout publiquement, que voyant retarder avec l'arrivée de Don Juan, les secours destinés & promis, & voyant qu'on en seroit peut-être frustré; voyant l'Hollande si éperduement amoureuse de la paix sans égard aux interêts d'Espagne; voyant l'Empereur jouër dans cette affaire la rôle d'un Prince parfaitement desintereſſé; voyant que l'Espagne n'avoit encore agi auprès du Roy mon Maître, & auprès de la Suede, que par de belles paroles; connoissant que sa Majesté n'étoit pas en état d'entrer seule dans cette épineuse negociation; & que pour la porter à le faire, il falloit autres choses que de purs motifs de generosité; enfin, voyant l'Espagne elle-même approuver le projet de Monsieur de Lionne, tel qu'il l'avoit dresse: faisant attention à toutes ces choses, j'ai crû que leur interêt demandoit qu'ils achevâssant franchement l'affaire; gagnant le plus de tems qu'il seroit possible pour faire venir les ratifications*

that means take away from France all hopes or pretext of breaking, without ſuch an evidence of falſhood and ambition, as would make Holland of neceſſity engage in your defence. And upon the ſame conſiderations I urged the Baron de Bergeyck, all I could, to finiſh the affair: as ſoon as I ſaw, that neither the Ambaſſador of France nor Holland, any more than the Nuncio, would hearken to propoſitions of changing any thing in the project. And, beſides, I thought all the difficulties the Baron made upon the ſigning very unſeaſonable, and of ill conſequence to the affair; and I ſhewed him how much he was in the wrong to complain of the ſharp powers of Monſieur Colbert, which were drawn up only in revenge to yours, his former ones having been without any reflection upon what was paſt: and the Baron de Bergeyck having had three weeks time to ſend for ſofter powers, and more proper for treating of a peace. I was alſo ill ſatisfied to ſee him keep us three or four days on the rack till the affair was juſt breaking, only to inſert a new power with the word Ambaſſador, which the Nuncio never heard

de Madrid; & ôtant par-là à la France tout pretexte, & toute eſperance d'en venir à une rupture; à moins qu'elle voulût elle-méme étaler ſa honte & faire voir ſi à decouvert ſa perfidie & ſon ambition, que neceſſairement l'Hollande ſe trouveroit engagée dans vôtre defenſe. Ces mêmes conſiderations ont fait que j'ai pouſſé, autant qu'il m'a été poſſible, à terminer promptement l'affaire, dès que j'avois clairement apperçu que ni l'Ambaſſadeur de France, ni celui d'Hollande, non plus que le Nonce, ne vouloient point écouter la propoſition de changer quelque choſe aux termes du projet. Et même j'ai regardé toutes les difficultés du Baron de Bergeyck ſur la ſignature comme faites hors de propos, & d'une facheuſe influence pour la concluſion de l'affaire. Je lui ai donné le tort qu'il s'eſt plaint de la forme en laquelle étoient conçus les pouvoirs de Monſieur Colbert; il y a crû y entrevoir de l'aigreur, ſans faire reflexion qu'ils étoient dreſſés à l'imitation, & peut-être à l'envi des vôtres; les premiers pouvoirs de M. Colbert ayant été conçûs ſans aucune relation au paſſé; & le Baron de Bergeyck ayant eu trois ſemaines pour faire venir des pouvoirs plus doux & plus ſortables à la paix. J'ai été auſſi fort indigné de ce qu'ils nous a retenus trois ou quatre jours à la géne; & cela parce qu'il vouloit inſerer un nouveau pouvoir avec le mot d'Ambaſſadeur. Le Nonce n'en avoit

heard the Baron once mention before; there being nothing of it in thoſe powers whereof he had given a copy. And, as inſignificant as theſe accidents ſeem to be, I think they were ſuch, that, if Monſieur Colbert, either by his own diſpoſition, or the intereſts of his brother, had not been very much inclined to the peace, I am perſuaded, that this great moderation of the Baron de Bergeyck had wholly ruined the affair. I am your, &c.

avoit jamais oui parler auparavant au Baron; car la moindre mention n'en avoit pas été faite dans les pouvoirs dont il avoit donné copie. Quelque legers que puiſſent paroître de tels incidens je crois pouvoir dire, que ſi Monſieur Colbert par la ſituation des affaires & des interêts de ſon frère, ne s'étoit pas trouvé tout-à-fait porté à la paix, je ſuis perſuadé que cette belle & loüable moderation qu'on vante en Monſieur Bergeyck auroit ſuffi pour gâter tout. Je ſuis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Bruſſels, March 22, N. S. 1668.

YOur Lordſhip's of the firſt current referred me to another I was to expect by the following poſt, with particular directions how to purſue the Swediſh affair here; but, that being not yet arrived, I have hitherto been only able to make ſome general diligences therein, together with the Holland Deputy, in a joint audience this morning. The Marquis's guard conſiſted chiefly in theſe points; That what he had promiſed of ſending powers to the Count Molina was in time of war, and with intention of engaging Sweden with us in the affair. That the peace has altered that meaſure; and though he had full powers to grant what he thought fit in the time of war, whoſe accidents admitted not recourſe to Spain, yet he had not the ſame in time of peace, but had written effectually upon this ſubject. That, in the mean time, he expected to know the effect of this league, and ſee the form of guaranty it ſhould produce, with what concert, and what advantages for the affairs of theſe countries, of which he had yet received no particular ac-

count from the Count de Molina. That he did not underſtand why Spain ſhould ſatisfy the expence of thoſe months which the Swedes had kept up their troops only at the deſire of Holland, and without any reflections upon the buſineſs of theſe countries, which was from the time of the concluſion at Breda to that of our league at the Hague, wherein Count Dona entered, and which ſeemed the firſt inſtance of the Swedes concerning themſelves in this country or Spain's affairs.

The Holland Deputy preſſed his Excellency hard upon his promiſe, and his declaring to us, that he had ſent powers to the Count Molina, purſuing him with *Res non eſt integra*, and *Mandatum non poteſt revocari*, and ſuch civil law arguments, till it grew warm, and ſo not very proper for a man in ill health, nor, in my opinion, for the buſineſs as it ſtands; ſo that I was fain to divert it upon my expectation of new powers and particular inſtructions, by which I hoped to be able to give the Marquis ſatisfaction in the project of the intended guaranty.

This morning arrived Sir John Trevor's ſecretary, with directions to bring the buſineſs of the ratifications to a period, by carrying one from hence for ſurety's ſake, in caſe that from Spain ſhould fail, which is expected upon the very treaty ſigned at Aix, and withal to concert other circumſtances in the manner of the exchange, which is made very imperfect in the treaty; that is, one to be delivered at St. Germains, and the other at Bruſſels. I carried the ſecretary this afternoon to the Marquis, and we have fallen upon this agreement, that to-morrow he ſhall return for Paris with a ratification upon the treaty at Aix, and with inſertion of the ſame powers; a blank now in the Marquis's hands being to be filled up in that form, and to be dated the 16th current, which will anſwer a poſſibility of a poſt going to Madrid after the

the 2d, when the treaty was ſigned at Aix, receiving this ratification there, and returning to Paris by the 24th, the day this gentleman expects to arrive there.

For the exchange it ſhall be made at Paris, and by the hands of our Miniſters there, who ſhall deliver the Spaniſh ratifications, and at the ſame time receive the French, with which the Marquis is content, and will proceed to the publiſhing of the peace, ſo ſoon as our Miniſters are poſſeſſed of the French ratifications, which may afterwards be ſent hither at leiſure. The day we propoſe for exchanging the ratifications is the 26th, and the 28th for publiſhing the peace, in caſe we receive a courier by that time with advice of the French concurrence in that day.

For the manner of executing the treaty, I confeſs I was of opinion, nothing ſhould be mentioned of it till the exchange and publication were paſſed, ſince new difficulties may ariſe upon it, which will be eaſieſt overcome when the thing is done, and perhaps the parties will have begun to diſarm. The Marquis was of my opinion in it, and therefore has propoſed only in that point, that after the publication Commiſſioners may be appointed on both ſides to meet upon it, and the Mediators deſired by both parties to intervene likewiſe by their Commiſſioners; for the better compoſing of any difference that may ariſe between the parties, and to whom the adjudication of ſuch difference may be referred; the place of meeting to be Oudenarde or Courtray, as moſt commodious for adjudication of the limits which may fall in diſpute. After this matter thus digeſted, and promiſe of the ratifications to be in my hands to-morrow by noon, I came away with Sir John Trevor's ſecretary; but the Marquis ſent after me, to deſire he might ſpeak with me alone; and told me, He was to thank me for ſparing him this morning in diſputes he was falling into with the Holland Deputy: That, in ſhort, the Dutch had

had croſſed him in an alliance he was making laſt year with Sweden, becauſe they would make themſelves maſters of the affair; and now would buy the Swedes dependance at the coſt of Spain: That he had all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with his Majeſty's conduct of this affair, but little in the Dutch: That he knew no reaſon why they ſhould not pay what they had promiſed to Sweden after the treaty at Breda, nor why all the money Spain could ſpare ſhould not be given his Majeſty upon a nearer league between us, who was the only Prince had proceeded affectionately and generouſly in the Spaniſh affairs, and who was the beſt able to ſupport them, in caſe he were in condition to make war without his people's purſes: That he expected the Baron Iſola ſuddenly here, for concluſion of the guaranty, and this affair with Sweden: and that at laſt, if it muſt be paid by Spain, it ſhould be all laid in his Majeſty's hands to diſpoſe of as he pleaſed. I gave his Excellency thanks for expreſſions ſo obliging in what concerned our part in this whole affair; but deſired him to take it for a ground in all the ſuperſtructures to be made upon the preſent foundations: that Spain muſt not diſoblige Holland even to oblige us, but diſſemble any reſentments they had given him, and ſacrifice them to the advantage both we and Spain received by their preſent ſeparation from France. And ſo our diſcourſes ended, and we are returned into the ſame good correſpondence we were in before I went to Aix, which had been interrupted by ſome letters I received from his Excellency there, and ſome I returned in the ſtyle I thought they deſerved; it being perhaps natural to the ſame men to be the leaſt ſubject to do injuries, and the leaſt capable of receiving them: for it is eaſy enough to find morals for the firſt, but chriſtianity enough for the laſt, I doubt, is difficult. I am ever, &c.

To Monſieur de Witt.

Bruſſels, May 27,
SIR, *N. S.* 1668.

BY my laſt from Aix, I gave you account of the ſigning of the peace, and was in hopes by this to have given you alſo an account of the ratification, which is not yet arrived from Paris. Mean while the ravages made by the French troops over all the country, and their approaches to this city, alarm us here, as if they had a deſign to wrangle upon ſome formalities, and in the mean time put themſelves in a condition to carry the greateſt advantages upon expiration of the truce. I will not have the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch a proceeding; the moſt Chriſtian King having already given notice of the peace to the Pope and other Chriſtian Princes: and (which is of greater weight) knowing that Sweden has already entered into the triple alliance. Therefore, the buſineſs that gives me moſt pain, is to draw from Spain the ſatisfaction ſtipulated to Sweden, upon which your Deputies here have without doubt already given you the Marquis's anſwers, though indeed ſomewhat cold and uncertain. I have ſince given him a very preſſing letter from the King my Maſter upon the ſame ſubject, but have had yet no

A Monſieur de Witt.

Bruxelles, le 27 May,
Monſieur, N. S. 1068.

PAr ma derniere lettre d'Aix la Chapelle, je vous ai appris la ſignature de la paix, & j'eſperois par celle-ci vous apprendre la ratification; mais elle n'eſt pas encore arrivée de Paris. Cependant, les ravages faits par les troupes Françoiſes dans toute la Flandre, & leurs approches de cette ville, cauſent encore de l'alarme ici, comme s'ils avoient deſſein de chicaner ſur quelques formalités, & en attendant, ſe mettre en état de remporter les plus grands avantages au moment dès l'expiration de la trêve. Je ne veux point former le moindre ſoupçon d'un tel procédé dans les François; le Roi Très Chrétien ayant déjà donné avis de la paix, tant au Pape qu'aux autres Princes; & (ce qui eſt de plus grand poids) ſachant que la Suede a déjà entré dans le triple alliance. C'eſt pourquoi, la choſe dont je me mets le plus en peine, eſt de tirer de l'Eſpagne la ſatisfaction ſtipulée pour la Suede. Vos Deputés ici vous ont ſans doute déjà communiqué ſur cet article les réponſes du Marquis, à la vérité un peu froides & incertaines. Je lui ai remis depuis une lettre de la part du Roi mon Maître ſur ce ſujet, fort preſſante, mais je n'en ai juſqu' ici pû tirer d'autre réponſe, ſi non qu'il n'a pas encore vû le traité de nôtre triple

alliance,

no anſwer, farther than that he has not yet ſeen our triple alliance, nor knows the advantages given to Spain by it; or whether they are equal to Spain and France. He makes difficulties alſo upon the ſubſidies of theſe months paſt between the treaty at Breda and ours at the Hague, which was (as he ſays) the firſt day that Sweden began to conſider the affairs of Spain; and he adds, that he has writ into Spain upon this matter, and waits an anſwer; his powers being more ample in time of war than of peace.

By the thread of his diſcourſe I imagine, that he is ſufficiently convinced of the neceſſity of the affair, and that he will agree to it; but knowing that he has time till the ratification comes from Sweden, he makes uſe of it, either firſt to ſee the ſupplies of money expected with Don John, or, perhaps, becauſe there are ſome natures in the world who never can proceed ſincerely in buſineſs, but are always for gaining time, which they will do if they were going to their wedding, as much as if they were going to their execution.

Mean while the King my Maſter has thought good to order another letter to be writ to the Queen of Spain herſelf upon this ſubject, and to come to

alliance, & qu'il ignore quels avantages y ſont contenus pour l'Eſpagne; & s'ils ſont balancés également entre la France & l'Eſpagne. Il forme auſſi des difficultés ſur les ſubſides des mois écoulés entre la concluſion du traité à Breda, & la date du nôtre à la Haye, qui étoit, dit-il, le premier jour que la Suede a commencé d'examiner les affaires d'Eſpagne, & d'y faire attention. Enfin il ajoute qu'il a écrit en Eſpagne ſur cette matiere, & qu'il en attend la réponſe, ſes pouvoirs étant plus amples en tems de guerre qu'en tems de paix.

Par la ſuite de ſon diſcours j'ay crû appercevoir qu'il eſt aſſez perſuadé de la neceſſité de l'affaire, & qu'il y veut venir; mais comme il ſait qu'il a du tems juſqu'à la ratification venue de Suede, il tâche de s'en ſervir, dans l'eſperance que les ſecours d'argent arriveront avec Don Juan. Mais peut-être que ce temporiſement a un autre principe, & qu'il y a des eſprits dans le monde faits de telle ſorte, qu'ils ne ſauroient jamais aller rondement en beſogne, & qui ſongent toûjours à gagner du tems, lors même qu'il s'agit d'aller aux nôces, comme lors qu'il eſt queſtion d'aller à la mort.

En attendant, le Roi mon Maître a trouvé bon de faire écrire une autre lettre à la Reine d'Eſpagne elle-même ſur ce ſujet, pour venir à bout de cette affaire, malgré

to an end of this affair, notwithſtanding the difficulties that may ariſe here: and I think it will not be amiſs if the States obſerve the ſame order, writing a letter to the Marquis and at the ſame time another to the Queen, to preſs the affair, and both in civil terms, without ſharpening the matter or ſeeming to make difficulties upon the ratifications of the guaranty, at leaſt not to make them appear greater than they are. I have told my opinion in this affair, and I have dealt with the Spaniards long enough to know a little of their genius; nor do I doubt coming to an end of this matter, as well as I have done of others more difficult, provided we go the ſame way, as having to do with the ſame people.

I doubt not but you will be of my opinion, that it will be neceſſary, after the peace is made, to endeavour at coming to ſome exchange of places, as well to remove the French from your frontiers, as to leave the Spaniards in a better condition of defending themſelves againſt any new ſurpriſe or attack; and this will deſerve your thoughts upon it; I mean the manner by which you muſt begin and carry on this affair. And, I think, the beſt occaſion of entering into the buſineſs

malgré les difficultés qui ſe pourront rencontrer ici. Il me ſemble qu'il ne ſeroit mal à propos que Meſſieurs les Etats ſuivîſſent la même voye, & qu'ils fiſſent écrire au Marquis & en même tems à la Reine, afin de preſſer l'affaire. Ces deux lettres étant conçuës en termes obligéans, & au lieu d'aigrir la difference, & de groſſir les difficultés, paroiſſant avoir pour but de pacifier toutes choſes, & de tendre à une prompte concluſion touchant les ratifications de la guarantie, pourroient produire un très bon effet. Voilà mon opinion ſur cette affaire: J'ai eu un aſſez long commerce avec les Eſpagnols pour connoître un peu leur genie; & je ne doute point que je ne vienne à bout de ce que j'ai entrepris, ainſi que je ſuis déja venu à bout de choſes plus difficiles, pourvû que nous marchions tous d'un même train, ayant affaire à mêmes gens.

Je ne doute pas que vous ne ſoyez comme moi du ſentiment, qu'après la paix faite, il ſera neceſſaire de faire nos efforts pour amener les choſes à un échange des places, tant pour éloigner les François de vos frontieres, que pour laiſſer les Eſpagnols en état de ſe mieux defendre contre de nouvelles ſurpriſes & de nouvelles invaſions. Ceci merite vos reflexions; vous penſerez auſſi à la maniere dont il faudra s'y prendre pour entamer & pourſuivre cette affaire. Il me ſemble que l'occaſion la plus propre d'entrer

buſineſs will be upon the execution of the peace; and to repreſent that the reſtitution of Burgundy in the condition it is in at preſent, is an offer not agreeable to the promiſes of the moſt Chriſtian King.

I have deſired Monſieur Beverning to diſcourſe you about a ſmall particular in our laſt inſtrument of the marine, which does not ſeem to me of any importance, but by which ſome of your good friends have undertook to reflect particularly upon me: but, having had no news of Monſieur Beverning ſince his departure, I ſhould be glad to know that he ſpoke to you of it, and what you think. I am, &c.

en matiere ſur cela, ſera ſur l'execution de la paix; & de repreſenter que la reſtitution de Bourgogne dans l'état où il eſt à preſent, eſt une offre peu convenable aux promeſſes du Roy Très Chrêtien.

J'ai prié Monſieur Beverning de vous entretenir ſur une petite particularité touchant nôtre dernier memoire ſur la marine; la choſe ne me paroît pas importante mais parce que quelques-uns de vos bons amis ont pris à tâche de me blamer moi ſeul en particulier: comme je n'ai point eu de nouvelles de Monſieur Beverning depuis ſon départ, je ſerai bien aiſe de ſavoir s'il vous en a parlé, & ce qui vous en ſemble. Je ſuis, &c.

To Monſieur de Witt.

London, July, 3, 1668.

SIR,

HAving taken ſo much part in your good fortunes, and the applauſes given you by the world, it is but reaſonable I ſhould alſo take part in your loſſes, and tell you with equal diſpleaſure and truth, how much I am concerned at your late misfortune. I have long obſerved, that your fatigues for the public were eaſed by your domeſtic entertainments; and, inſtead of thoſe diverſions which others ſeek in vice and extravagance, you always placed yours in the innocent pleaſures

A Monſieur de Witt.

De Londres, le 3 Juill. 1668.

Monſieur,

AYant pris tant de part dans vos proſperités, & dans les applaudiſſemens que vos recevez de tout le monde; il eſt bien juſte que j'en prenne dans vos diſgraces & dans vos pertes; & que je vous diſe avec autant de douleur que de verité, que j'ai été vivement touché de la derniere perte que vous venez de faire. Il y a long-tems que j'ai remarqué que vôtre domeſtique vous a toujours ſervi d'unique relachement dans les fatigues que vous cauſent les affaires publiques, & qu au lieu de recourir à ces divertiſſemens qui

pleaſures of conjugal and paternal affection. I have obſerved alſo, how happily you diſcharged yourſelf of all affairs of your family upon a lady who now lives no more but in the memory and eſteem of all thoſe that knew her; and therefore I am but too ſenſible how nearly this loſs muſt afflict you; and that it is neither juſt nor decent to give you conſolation upon it ſo ſoon. Therefore I will only ſay, that, if it were not for this ſad occaſion, you would have wanted one great enough to ſhew the ſtrength of your mind, which is often apter to ſink under domeſtic accidents, than thoſe of Court, or of a war: for by theſe a man is only hardened every day, but he is ſoftened and made more tender by the others. I beg you therefore not to neglect this occaſion of your glory; not to forget, in the midſt of your grief, that you have this long time eſpouſed the good of your Country, and of Chriſtendom itſelf, in theſe laſt conjunctures, to which you owe all your applications and careſſes.

qui approchent ſi ſouvent de l'extravagance & du crime, vous faiſiez toujours conſiſter les vôtres à cultiver les fruits de l'amitié conjugale, & de la tendreſſe paternelle. J'avois remarqué auſſi, avec quelle joye & quelle confiance vous vous étiez dechargé de tous les ſoins de ménage ſur cette vertueuſe épouſe, qui ne vit plus à preſent que dans l'eſtime & le ſouvenir de toutes les perſonnes qui l'ont connuë; & par-là je ne ſens que trop combien ſa perte vous doit ſenſiblement toucher. Ni la bienſeance, ni la raiſon ne ſouffrent point que j'entreprenne de vous conſoler ſi ſubitement. C'eſt pour quoi je vous dirai ſeulement, que ſans une ſi triſte occaſion, vous n'auriez pas eu celle d'etaler toute la force de vôtre ame, qui ſuccombe quelque fois plus promptement & plus abſolument ſous les afflictions domeſtiques que ſous le revers de la Republique, ou les diſgraces de la guerre: on ſe familiariſe avec ces dernieres, & on s'y endurcit avec le tems; mais les premieres conſervent toujours le droit de nous attendrir & de nous toucher infiniment. Je vous prierai donc de ne pas negliger cette occaſion de votre gloire, & au plus fort de votre douleur, de ne point oublier avec quel devoüement, & depuis quel tems vous avez épouſé le bien de vôtre Patrie, & avec le ſien celui de la Chrétienté, dans ces dernieres conjonctures; votre attachement, vos ſoins, votre

I hope these will be at present some comfort to you, or at least a diversion, as they have formerly been a fatigue and a pain.

Having begun this letter only to condole with you upon this sad occasion, I will not intermix any thing of business; only to tell you that the King my master presses me every day to prepare for my voyage, which I shall delay no longer than my domestic affairs have made it necessary after so long an absence. In the mean while I assure you, I find nothing here that can any way change or slacken the pursuit of our true and common interests, which consist in the firmness of our last alliance. But of this I shall tell you more when I see you. I am, Sir, your, &c.

votre tendresse mêmes lui sont dûs, puisque vous devez vous même tout entier à elle. J'espere qu'à l'avenir vos vieilles & vos fatigues pour la Republique vous procureront quelque soulagement, ou du moins apporteront quelque diversion à vos ennuis, au lieu des travaux & des sueurs qu'elles vous ont couté autrefois.

Ayant commencé cette lettre uniquement dans la vûe de me consoler avec vous, je ne veux point la finir en y mêlant quelque chose qui soit étrangere à votre douleur. Je ne vous parlerai donc point d'affaires, & je vous dirai seulement que le Roi mon Maître presse tous les jours sur les preparatifs de mon départ; je n'y apporterai d'autres retardemens que ceux que mes affaires domestiques rendent indispensables après une si longue absence. En attendant, je puis vous assurer que je n'ai rien apperçû ici qui puisse tant soit peu alterer ou rallentir les soins de nos véritables & communs interêts, que je fais consister dans la fermeté & la durée de notre derniere alliance: vous verrez cela plus au long à mon arrivée. Je suis, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, Sheen, July 22, 1668.

THough I doubt our late motions may have lost or delayed some of your letters, which we have now been some time in want of; yet, I presume ours have had their constant course to you, though from several parts: and though mine have not been frequent, upon the permission you give me to spare my own eyes and time when they are otherwise taken up, and trust to my sister's entertaining you; yet, upon my return home after three years absence, I could not but give you some account of my coming and stay here; and of what I can foresee is like to follow it, both as to my own particular, and to the public affairs, in which that seems at present to be so much involved.

After the conclusion of the triple alliance and the peace of Aix, I was at an end of my ambition; having seen Flanders saved, as if it had been by one of the miracles the house of Austria has, they say, been used to, and the general interests of Christendom secured against the power and attempts of France; and, at the same time, the consideration and honour of his Majesty and his Crown abroad raised to a degree it has not been in for some ages past, and we had no reason to expect it should be in some ages to come, upon the decline it felt after the business at Chattam, and the peace of Breda that succeeded it. I returned from Aix to Brussels without other thoughts than of continuing in that station, till I grew wearier of it than I was like to do very suddenly of a place, I confess, I love: but, immediately upon my arrival there, I met with letters from my Lord Arlington, which brought me the King's orders to continue the equipage of an Ambassador, that I was in upon my Aix

journey, in order to my ſerving his Majeſty in the ſame character at the Hague, whither he was reſolved to ſend me, and to renew, upon occaſion of our late alliances, a character which the Crown of England had diſcontinued in that country ſince King James's time. In order hereunto I was left at liberty to take my leave of the Marquis, and to return into England as ſoon as I pleaſed, which I did by the way of Holland, and left moſt of my ſervants and horſes at Utrecht.

Upon my arrival here, I was received both by the King and Court a great deal better than I could deſerve or pretend; but people ſeem generally pleaſed with the counſels and negotiations in which I have had ſo much part ſince Chriſtmas laſt; and I underſtand not Courts ſo ill (how little ſoever I have been uſed to them) as not to know that one ought not to loſe the advantage of coming home with the common opinion of ſome merits or good hits at one's back, if one's buſineſs be *de pouſſer ſa fortune*; and I am put enough in mind of it upon this occaſion, by ſeveral of thoſe many new friends one would think I had at this time of day, as well as by ſome of my old ones: but I cannot imagine why I ſhould pretend to have deſerved more than my pay of the King, for which I ſerved him in my late employments; and, if I got honour by them, it was ſo much more than I had to reckon upon. Beſides, I ſhould be ſorry to aſk money of him at a time when, for aught I can judge by the cry of the Court, he wants it more than I do. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador and Baron d'Iſola, as well as others of my friends, would needs be aſking a title for me, and it is with difficulty enough that I have prevented it; but it is that, I am ſure, I never can have a mind to, and, if it ſhould ever be offered me, I reſolve it ſhall either begin with you, if you deſire it; or, if not, with my ſon, which I had much rather. But, I ſuppoſe, nothing of this can happen in our Court

without purſuit, and ſo I reckon myſelf in all theſe points juſt where I was about ſix months ago, but only deſigned for another ambaſſy, and no man knows how that will end. I am very much preſſed to diſpatch my preparations for it, by my Lord Keeper and Lord Arlington, who are extreme kind to me, as well as to the meaſures lately taken by their miniſtry, and ſeem to value themſelves a great deal upon them. They ſay, all the buſineſs the King now has, both at home and abroad, will turn upon my hand in Holland, by keeping the French from breaking in upon our late alliances, and the confidence between us; and by drawing the Emperor and Princes of the Empire into a common guaranty of the peace, and thereupon they are mighty earneſt with me to haſten away. On the other ſide, the Commiſſioners of the treaſury ſeem to have more mind to my company here, than I could expect: for, after ſome of them had tried to hinder the King's reſolution of ſending either an Ambaſſador at all into Holland (upon pretence of ſo long diſuſe of that character) or me in particular, when that could not be carried, they prepared my way by entering upon new regulations in the Exchequer, among which, thoſe concerning foreign employments brought down the equipage money of Ambaſſadors from three thouſand pounds, as it has been ſince the King came in, to 1500 pounds in France and Spain, and to 1000 pounds in all other courts; and their allowance from 100 pounds a week to ten pounds a day in France and Spain, and to ſeven in other places. Though this be pretended by the Commiſſioners as only a piece of a general ſcheme of parſimony they find neceſſary in the preſent condition of the revenue, yet I underſtand it as calculated juſt at this time particularly for me; and my Lord Arlington confeſſes he thinks it ſo too, and takes part in it as a piece of envy or malice to himſelf as well as to me, from ſome who are ſpighted at all that has lately paſſed

between us and Holland, and at the perſons who have been at the head of thoſe counſels. For my part, I reſent it not only as a thing I have not deſerved, upon an employment caſt wholly upon me by the King's choice, and, as he ſeems to think, by the neceſſity of his affairs; but as that which I find plainly, by the ſhort experience of my laſt ambaſſy, will not defray the expence of another, with any honour to the King or myſelf abroad; and, though I do not pretend to make my fortune by theſe employments, yet I confeſs I do not pretend to ruin it neither. I have therefore been reſolved ſeveral times abſolutely to refuſe this ambaſſy, unleſs it be upon the terms all others have had; but my Lord Arlington puts ſo much weight upon my going, that he will not hear of it: he ſays, it is that our good friends would have, and intend by this uſage; and that I can no way diſappoint them ſo much as by going, and that this rule will be broken in three months time: that I ſhould not conſider ſmall matters of money in the courſe of my fortune, and that the King cannot fail of making mine at a lump one time or other: that there is nothing I may not expect from him upon my return from this ambaſſy: and that, if his Majeſty had not thought me of abſolute neceſſity to him in Holland upon this conjuncture, he had brought me now into Secretary Morris's place, which upon my going abroad is deſigned for Sir John Trevor. My Lord Keeper is of the ſame mind, to have me by no means refuſe it (as he ſays) neither for the King's ſake nor my own; and your old friend Sir Robert Long agrees with them both; and ſays, after a year or two of this ambaſſy, I cannot fail of either being Secretary of State, or ſent Ambaſſador into Spain: which are both certain ways of making any man's fortune.

With all this, I confeſs, I find it not very eaſy to reſolve, and very much deſire yours and my brother's opinion

opinion upon it: and, that you may the better give it me, I ſhall tell it you with one circumſtance which weighs a little with me, though not at all with my friends here.

They are all of opinion, the meaſures the King has lately taken cannot be broken nor altered, however they may be ſnarled at by ſome perſons, upon particular envy or intereſt; but I ſee plainly there are others of another mind. Sir Thomas Clifford ſaid to a friend of mine in confidence, upon all the joy that was here at the concluſion of the triple alliance: 'Well, 'for all this noiſe, we muſt yet have another war with 'the Dutch before it be long.' And I ſee plainly already, that he and Sir George Downing are endeavouring, with all the induſtry that can be, to engage the Eaſt-India company here in ſuch demands and pretenſions upon the Dutch, as will never be yielded to on that ſide, and will increaſe a jealouſy, they will ever have of our unſteady counſels, and of our leaving ſtill a door open for ſome new offences when we ſhall have a mind to take them. On the other ſide, the French will leave no ſtone unturned to break this confidence between us and Holland, which ſpoils all their meaſures, and without which they had the world before them. If they can, they will undermine it in Holland by jealouſies of the Prince of Orange, or any other artifice, and will ſpare neither promiſes nor threats. If I ſhould be able to keep that ſide ſtanch, they will ſpare none of the ſame endeavours here, and will have ſome good helps that I ſee already, and may have others that do not yet appear. If by any of theſe ways, or other accidents, our preſent meaſures come to change; I am left in Holland to a certain loſs, upon the terms they would ſend me, tho' I ſhould be paid; but to a certain ruin if I ſhould not; which I may well expect from the good quarter I may reckon upon from ſome in the treaſury; and, when

my ambaſſy ends, I may find a new world here, and all the fine things I am told of, may prove caſtles in the air; there is, I know, a great deal to be ſaid for my going; but, on the other ſide, I am well as I am, and cannot be ruined but by ſuch an adventure as this. I beg of you to let me know your opinion upon the whole; and, if I could have the confidence, I ſhould beg a great deal more earneſtly that I might ſee you here, ſince I cannot get looſe to wait on you there. Till I hear from you, I ſhall let the talk and the forms of my ambaſſy go on, and am confident, however they preſume, yet I can ſpin out the time of my going till about the end of Auguſt, in hopes of ſeeing you here; which will be, I am ſure, the greateſt ſatisfaction that can befal, Sir, your, &c.

LETTERS

LETTERS

TO

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

From Sir Thomas Clifford.

SIR, Copenhagen, October 7, 1665.

I Have received your obliging letter of the $\frac{20}{30}$th paſt; and the news of this country is like the commodities, not of equal value with the more ſouthern, and ſo you are like to be a loſer by the barter: but your kindneſs is the greater. I hope the King of Spain's death will no way alter the ſtate of our affairs with that Crown. I cannot tell you the effect of my negotiation here, but ſhall in my next give you ſome hints. The direction of your letter brings it ſafe to me: I ſhall adviſe you before I remove. Here came a report laſt night, that a ſquadron of the Engliſh fleet had taken out of Fleckery nine of the Dutch merchant-men, and ran another on ſhore: but I have examined it, and find there was no ground for the report. Two of their Eaſt-India-men are ſtill at Tunſburg, near Chriſtiana in Norway, and two more are returned to Bergen: but the ſix men of war and Eaſt-India man that came here in the ſound after the ſtorm, are put to ſea, and gone toward the Texel. The Eaſt-India ſhip that got into the river of Elve, is there unlading, and they are ſending the goods home in little ſmall veſſels, under the convoy only of a little

little toy of eight or ten guns: they go home over the Watts: a privateer lying there would probably make his market.

Laſt night ſome Dutch ſhips going for Dantzick arrived here, and boaſted, that their fleet of ninety ſail, under De Ruyter, ſailed upon Sunday laſt, the firſt inſtant, towards England, and to the channel, as they thought, and to join with the French; but nobody gives credit to the relation.

You ſee what ſhift I make to complete my bill of ſtore; but pray let it not diſhearten you from correſponding: for, if I have nothing elſe to ſay, I ſhall be glad of opportunities to expreſs myſelf, Sir, your moſt affectionate humble ſervant.

From the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

SIR, Oxford, December 28, 1665.

I Do confeſs I have, ſince we parted, received three letters from you, which I ſhould be aſhamed to acknowledge now, if I had been faulty in not doing it ſooner; as I promiſe myſelf you have been informed from my Lord Arlington's juſtice and friendſhip. It is now near three months, that the pain of the gout hath reſtrained me from the exerciſe of writing: and I am hardly yet returned to it, becauſe not able to put my head out of doors, or more than to ſtand, rather than walk in my chamber: ſo that I would not have ventured to have given you this trouble, but upon the abſence of my Lord Arlington (who hath tranſmitted to you conſtantly what we thought jointly:) but upon the ſight of your laſt letter, which came ſince his departure, I think it neceſſary to ſay a little to you upon a particular or two.

I do in the firſt place think and believe the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo to be a very generous perſon, and

and a very uſeful friend to the King our Maſter; and one who will be the beſt inſtrument to contribute to that firm friendſhip between the two Crowns, that is neceſſary for the joint intereſt of both; and therefore we muſt be careful to remove the leaſt umbrage, which may diſpoſe him to ſuſpect our prudence with reference to our own affairs, or our affection with reference to Spain. With reference to ourſelves, it is not poſſible we can be without a ſenſe of the almoſt inſupportable weight that lies upon us, in the carrying on the war againſt the Dutch, and preparing for a war againſt France: and therefore we cannot but heartily wiſh to be fairly quit of one of them; and would be very glad that any advances were made to it by Holland. I thought always that the overture made by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had come from Don Stephano, and never heard the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo's name: but, it being the very ſame in terms that the French Ambaſſadors had made, there could then be no proceedings upon it. But we have done all we can to invite the Dutch to an addreſs how privately ſoever: nor ſhall we make any demands concerning the Prince of Orange, leſt it ſhould do him hurt If we can bring them off from a conjunction with France (in which Spain is more concerned than England) I am confident we ſhall inſiſt upon very reaſonable conditions. We have great reaſon to commend the proceedings of the Biſhop of Munſter: nor are we jealous in the leaſt degree of him, or his treating: and as our failing towards him has not proceeded from any faults of ours, but even from the hand of God; ſo we ſhall out of hand repair thoſe omiſſions: and it is but reaſonably expected that the Princes of the Empire ſhould (how ſecretly ſoever) ſupport him from a diſſolution, leſt, before many months paſſed, and the French deſigns are a little more evident, they would be glad to repurchaſe the advantage

advantage of the Biſhop's being in ſuch a poſt as he now is, at any price.

There is nothing now ought to be laboured with ſo much induſtry and dexterity, as the uniting England, Spain, and Flanders, which would give, and which only can give, peace to Chriſtendom. I am ſure our Maſter is paſſionately inclined to it, and truly I think Spain is well diſpoſed in the main: yet I know not how by the fatal delay in diſpatch there (and it may be their expectation, that, in the ſtraits we are, we ſhall buy their friendſhip at a rate we ſhall never pay for it) the haſte is not made that the affair required. My Lord Sandwich (who will be gone in twenty days) I hope will give life to it.

You ſee how ill my hand is, though never legible, by ſhaking and weakneſs ſomewhat worſe than uſual. God keep you: and I pray let me know, that this is come to your hands from, Sir, your affectionate ſervant.

From [b] *Sir George Savile.*

SIR, Feb. 5, N. S. 1666.

IT is a ſin againſt the public, and a treſpaſs upon you, at this time to clog you with ſuch an idle correſpondence as mine: but I find I conſider my own intereſt before yours; being not able to make you an expreſſion of my kindneſs at ſo dear a rate as the denying myſelf the ſatisfaction of hearing from you. And therefore I take hold of your offer, and beg you would ſometimes beſtow a letter upon me, which ſhall be as welcome for telling me you are well, as it can be for the beſt news it bringeth in relation to the public: for which, if I can be concerned, next

[b] Afterwards Marquis of Hallifax.

to

to what I am for my beſt friends, it is the utmoſt I will pretend to in that matter. I find his Majeſty of France will be an angry enemy. He doth not declare war like an *honnéte homme*; and therefore I hope he will not purſue it like a wiſe one.

I do not deſpair, but that the Engliſh, who uſe to go into France for their breeding, may have the honour once to teach them better manners. The league with Spain is a good circumſtance to make us able to do it; it is ſo ſeaſonable and ſo well done, that I will ſuppoſe you had a hand in it. In the mean time we have great alarms the Monſieur will invade us, which makes every body prepare for their entertainment. And I hope they will neither find us ſo little ready, or ſo divided, as perhaps they expect.

I will not make this longer, when I have aſſured you I am, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

From the Biſhop of Munſter.

Munſter, Feb. 12, 1666.

SIR,

THE favours you have expreſſed to me are ſuch, that nothing can add to my eſteem of you: however, it was very acceptable to find from yours of the 25th paſt, that your affection to me ſtill continues. In the mean time I am buſy in preparing an army againſt ſpring; nor do I doubt but ſuch care is taken of the third payment, that I may have it altogether; at leaſt, that you have prepared 30,000 dollars ready at Bruſſels, and that 25,000 more may be returned with all ſpeed

Ab Epiſcopo Monaſterii.

Monaſterii, Feb. 12, Generoſe Domine, 1666.

DOminationem veſtram ita meis rebus faventem reipſa ſemper expertus ſum, ut nullâ quidem conteſtatione meæ deſuper conceptæ exiſtimationi plus addi poſſit; gratiſſimum tamen fuit, ex ejuſdem literis de 25to elapſi menſis Januarii percipere, quod D. V. eundem zelum & affectum continuet. Ego interim non deſino inſtruere & præparare exercitum imminenti jam veri; nec dubito de tertio termino ſic proviſum, ut integrè à meis ſublevari poſſit, aut certè diſpoſitione Dis Vræ triginta thalerorum millia Bruxellis in paratis

speed by exchange to Cologn: for it is certain, that by small sums, and paid by parcels, nothing can be performed worthy of such an undertaking; and that my expedition will be as much obstructed by these, as if the subsidies were wholly delayed. Besides, I shall this year meet with more resistance by enemies unexpected, to whom the Elector of Brandenburg will join himself. But that I hope will be recompensed by the friendship of Sweden, and his Majesty's declaratory letters communicated to me, and to be kept secret. Nor shall any thing be more inviolably observed by me, than the league I have made with his Majesty, from which nothing shall be able to force me. Nor is there any reason why the offer of a mediation from the Emperor and Princes should raise any suspicions of the contrary, since the present conjunctures would not permit me abruptly to refuse it. And, in order to gain time, I have kept that affair within preliminaries, relating to the persons of the Mediators, the manner of negotiation, and the means of security to be proposed, being resolved by any means not to separate myself from his Majesty; from whose protection I trust to procure safety and satisfaction to myself. I am glad of the peace

paratis præsto sint, & viginti quinque millia Coloniam cambia quantocius transmittantur. Certum enim est minutis summulis & carptim solutis, vix quicquam pro dignitate tantæ rei effici posse; nec minus ex his, quam dilatis subsidiis, expeditionem meam incommodi cepisse. Quæ quidem hoc anno plus resistentiæ & difficultatis à tot inopinatis hostibus, quibus & Elector Brandenburgicus se sociabit, habitura est. Id tamen fiducia amicitiæ Sueciæ compensatum existimo, accedentibus S. Regiæ Majestatis declaratoriis literis mihi communicatis, & secretò servandis. Nihilque mihi unquam erit antiquius aut magis inviolabile nodo fœdere cum S. Regiâ Majestate sancito, à quo nullo modo divelli me patiar. Nec est, quòd oblata Cæsaris & quorundam principum mediatio umbras aliquas contrariæ suspicionis invehere posset; cùm illam præfractè respuere nec temporum horum ratio patiatur, nec mihi consultum fuerit, qui, lucrando tempori inde occasionem nactus, rem omnem hactenus intra præliminaria de ipsis personis Mediatorum, de modo tractandi, & mediis securitatis proponendis continui, certus non separare me à S. Regiâ Majestate, cujus auspiciis, & satisfactionem, & securitatem me consecuturum confido. Quòd fœdus Anglo-Hispanum Madriti jam tum signatum, & ad ratificandum in Angliam transmissum

peace between England and Spain being signed at Madrid, and that it is sent into England to be ratified. I wish the effects of it be not delayed; and that the Spaniards may be ready at the time, against whom I hear the Hollanders have also declared war by the instigation of the French. Your most obliged servant.

missum sit, libenter accepi; optarem sanè hujus effectum non deferri, & Hispanos tempori paratos esse, quibus etiam ab Hollandis bellum Gallorum instigatione denunciandum intelligo: ac hisce maneo Dominationis vestræ addictiss.

From Sir George Savile.

SIR, April 4, 1666.

THIS must carry my thanks to you for two letters I received at the same time from you, which giveth me a fair occasion to say a great deal to you; but that I will not trespass upon our agreement, to omit ceremony, or any thing that looketh like it. Yet, you must give me leave to tell you, I think myself as much assured of your kindness, by your letting me stay in your thoughts (when you might forget me without breach of friendship, considering the weight of business that lieth upon you) as I could be by any mark of it you can imagine: and if you will suppose my sense of it answerably, and reckon upon my service accordingly; if it may ever be of use to you, you will do me but right. In the mean time you make me sensible of the inconvenience of living out of the world: now that I find it impossible for me to write three lines of sense in exchange for your letters, that are full of every thing which can make them welcome. I am so ashamed you should converse with a dead man, that I almost wish the French landed upon our coast, thinking it better to write you a sad story than none. How soon I may be furnished with something of this kind, dependeth upon our success at sea, and the faith of your Bishop, which may well be shaken, if you do

do not ſupport it with your bills of exchange. He is likely to be ſo over-matched this next campaign, that I doubt he will be tempted to break faith with heretics, rather than be a Martyr in our calendar. I ſhould be glad to hear Spain would come into our ſcales, to help us to weigh down our enemies; but I fear their ill luck in the late war hath not left them ſpirit enough to fall out with the French, though their intereſt provoketh them to it. Beſides, the Crown is in a cradle; and a Spaniſh Council I imagine to be as ſlow an aſſembly as a Houſe of Commons. So that we muſt rely upon the oak and courage of England to do our buſineſs, there being ſmall appearance of any thing to help us from abroad.

I believe, before this cometh to your hands, you will be waiting upon Mademoiſelle Beverwaert, who is a teſtimony that this war hath given us no ſuch antipathy to the Dutch, ſince we chuſe one to breed Stateſmen for the next age. The Captain that went upon ſo peaceable an errand, and into a friend's harbour, had ill fortune to be ſo roughly ſaluted: but, it being a ſingle act of the officer, without any order from his ſuperiors, it is of no more conſequence to us than the ſound of it may amount to.

I direct this as you bid me: and, though it ſhould not come to you, I aſſure myſelf you would not impute it to the omiſſion, but to the ill fortune, of, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

From the Biſhop of Munſter. Ab Epiſcopo Monaſterii.

May 21, 1666.

SIR,

I Doubt not but by your good offices the reception of my envoy the Baron de Roſenback at Court will be ſo prepared, as that his Majeſty may have an

Lugderio, Maii Generoſe Domine, 21, 1666.

NON dubito officiis Dis Vræ aditum in aula Regis ablegato meo Baroni de Roſenback ita præparatum, ut S. Regiæ Majeſtati ratio conſilii mei

an account of my designs: and I hope you will continue your favour so far, as the King may be persuaded that the necessity which forced me to accept the peace, has not taken any thing from the profession of that honour, duty, and service, I shall ever pay him. To which end I have ordered my agent Rentorf to cultivate a strict friendship in my name, as well as to communicate to you my most secret affairs, resolving to watch all occasions for the service of his Majesty; in order to which, I have sent back to the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo the Brabant troops, as well as those raised in the circle of Burgundy, all entire. And now some German regiments, well armed and exercised, are preparing for their march into Flanders, of whose valour the Hollanders themselves are witnesses, as I believe you know already from the said Marquis. Now, since it concerns me very much that his Majesty should know these soldiers are kept in his service, I should be extremely satisfied if you would inform the King of it, at the same time that the said Baron de Rosenback will be arrived at London. And that it be represented as a mark of my eternal devotion to his Majesty. In which you will highly oblige me: and in confidence whereof I remain, Sir, your most obliged servant.

mei præbeatur; quod Dom. Vram ita continuaturam spero, ut Rex persuasum omnino habeat istam necessitatem, quæ mihi pacis leges imposuit, nihil prorsus detraxisse de animo quo S. Majestatis observantiæ, gloriæ, & utilitati, æternùm devotus sum. Eumque in finem mandavi agenti meo Rentorf intimam meo nomine cum Dnè Vrâ communicationem mearum rerum, & amicitiam colere, intentus semper in occasiones omnes futuras pro servitio S. Majestatis; quem in finem copias Brabanticas, & in circulo Burgundico conscriptas, Domino Marchioni de Castel-Rodrigo integras remisi; & jam itineri in Belgium Hispanicum accinguntur legiones aliquot Germanorum; fortis sanè & exercitatus miles, de quorum virtute ipsi fœderati Belgæ testari poterunt; uti Dom. Vestram jam ex prædicto domino gubernatore latiùs cognovisse arbitror. Cùm autem meâ plurimum interfit, ut Regiæ Majestati suæ constet militem hunc in suo servitio conservari; pergratum mihi foret, si Dio. Vestra de eo, facilitandæ intentioni meæ, quamprimum & sine morâ hoc ipso tempore quo dictus Baro de Rosenback Londinum appulerit, S. Majestatem certiorem faciat, & tanquam indicium ratum æternæ meæ in Regem fidei contestetur: quo me Dio Vra sibi summopere obligabit; et hâc fiduciâ maneo Dominationi vestræ addictiss.

From my Lord Arlington.

SIR, Whitehall, July, 30, 1666.

WHAT I received in yours of the 2d was written to me at large, from him whom I ſuppoſe to be the author of it, but not exactly with the ſame circumſtances: whether his meaning or his imagination fail him, is a great queſtion here. His name, to ſpeak freely with you, is able to diſcredit any truth: and againſt the grain I employed him in Holland, not to make him the inſtrument of a peace, but to ſend us news: however, I do not yet diſcourage him from writing, though I wiſh what he ſaith came from any hand rather than his. Accordingly, you ſhall do well to handle him: and this is enough upon this ſubject, when I have ſo much a better to entertain you upon. Here incloſed you have the effective truth of what I ſent you the ſymptoms in my laſt. I durſt not hazard any of my acquaintance with the putting it into French, becauſe of the ſea terms wherewith it abounds: but, if you can get it well done, and quickly publiſhed, you will do his Majeſty a good ſervice, and may fairly put the coſt of it into your accounts. Moreover, I have promiſed his Majeſty to charge you with the writing of ſome ſmall paper, and publiſhing it in French, that may pleaſantly and pertinently awaken the good patriots in Holland, not only to thoughts and wiſhes of peace, but to a reaſonable application for it; aſſuring them his Majeſty continues ſtill to wiſh it, and would gladly receive any overtures for it from the States, here in his own Kingdom, not expecting leſs from them in this kind, than they did to the Uſurper Cromwell. This done in any form you like beſt would certainly operate well in Holland, and be a work worthy of your pen; which, I know, has ſufficiency very much greater. One thing

eſpecially

eſpecially it will be good to mind them of, the conſiderable ſuccours and advantages they have had by the conjunction with France; which hath not been remarkably viſible in any thing more than in getting their narratives to be believed in all the Courts of Chriſtendom, and helping them to make their bonfires for their ſucceſſes.

His Majeſty is going this night to viſit the Queen at Tunbridge; for which he had not leiſure till now. I am, Sir, your moſt affectionate ſervant.

P. S. Let your emiſſaries give you a particular account of the condition of the Dutch fleet gotten into Zealand, and of the readineſs they are in to come out again; with an exact account of their ſtrength if it be poſſible. Monſieur Nypho will help to convey it ſpeedily to us.

From the Earl of Clarendon.

SIR, Worceſter-Houſe, Auguſt 2, 1666.

I Have many excuſes to make you for not acknowledging all your letters punctually when I received them, which I ſuppoſe would give you ſome trouble; and I am ſure all I can ſay to you, by way of information or advice, is conſtantly and abundantly ſupplied by the diligence of my good friend my Lord Arlington.

The laſt favour I received from you was of the 23d of this month; ſince which time it hath pleaſed God to give a wonderful improvement to our affairs: and yet I am perſuaded that you there knew more of the full extent of the late great victory than we do. In all mens view it is very great and noble, and in one reſpect very wonderful, that almoſt the whole fleet that went from hence rides now before the enemies harbours, without being compelled to ſend any con-

ſiderable number of their ſhips to be repaired: and I believe this ſucceſs will change the meaſures of moſt of the counſels in Chriſtendom. I wiſh with all my heart it may work upon them from whom your Court muſt receive its orders, to move with a little more vigour in their reſolutions: the want of which will at ſome time or other prove fatal to that monarchy. They have it yet in their power to ſecure themſelves from ever receiving prejudice from the French; which I take to be the only bleſſing they are to pray for in this world: but it will not be always in their power to do ſo.

I preſume my good friend Ogniate is before this time arrived there with good ſatisfaction: and I will not deny to you I always wiſhed well to thoſe tranſactions, the conceſſions being (in truth) no other than what in juſtice ought to be granted; except we would declare to the world, that, whilſt we have a war with Holland, we will have no peace with Flanders. I wiſh with all my heart that it may be punctually and religiouſly obſerved on our part, by the exemplary puniſhment of thoſe perſons who in the leaſt degree violate the protection agreed upon. And though there will be, as you ſay, a great latitude for them to cover the Dutch trade; yet that cannot be long without diſcovery, and they will thereby render themſelves infamous to the world, and will ſuffer accordingly. I know the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo will be as jealous in that affair as poſſible: and Ogniate, who was the fitteſt perſon alive to be ſent on that errand, will be vigilant to the utmoſt; and I am confident will advertiſe the Marquis upon the leaſt diſcovery. I know not whether he be enough known to you; but, truſt me, he is very worthy of your friendſhip, which is due to him from all good Engliſhmen, having expreſſed the ſame veneration to the King, and the ſame

civility

civility and kindneſs to us, who had the honour at the ſame time to attend his Majeſty, when we were in Flanders, as he can do now, when we are at Whitehall. And, as that reſpect of his was then of great uſe and benefit to his Majeſty, ſo it was apparently to his own prejudice and diſadvantage; ſo that, if we are not all kind to him, we deſerve no more ſuch friends. I am, Sir, your affectionate ſervant.

From Sir William Coventry.

SIR, September 21, 1667.

SInce my laſt to you, I have acquainted his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs with your having diſpoſed the blank paſſes ſent to you; and that the people of thoſe countries were ſtill deſirous of thoſe paſſes; though there was another proviſion made for their ſecurity, by the agreement with M. Ogniate: whereupon his Majeſty gave conſent to the ſending over ſome more of them. By this conveyance I ſend you five of them. More ſhall be ſent hereafter, if you continue to deſire them: but I thought not fit to ſwell this pacquet too much.

The French fleet hath been in the channel, and Prince Rupert's fleet having been driven from their anchors with a ſtorm, and by other ſuch accidents, he did not meet with them at their firſt coming; and now we are uncertain whether they are not gone back again. To-morrow will tell us more of that than I can now affirm. The ſtorm which drove Prince Rupert's fleet from their anchors diſperſed ſome of the French fleet, and ſeven of them on the right fell into our white ſquadron; one of them (a ſhip called the Ruby) of fifty-four guns, and five hundred men, we took; and ſome of our frigates purſued the reſt, with what ſucceſs I know not as yet. I am apt to believe the body of their fleet is gone back again towards Breſt

or Rochel. We hear De Ruyter is dead, and another Admiral choſen.

This day the Parliament voted that they will ſupply his Majeſty proportionably to his occaſions, or words to that effect; ſo our neighbours will ſee our hearts do not fail us in all our misfortunes. I am, Sir, your moſt affectionate humble ſervant.

From the Duke of Ormond.

SIR, Kilkenny, October 14, 1666.

I Have more of yours to acknowledge than I have by me to take particular notice of. They were very pertinent informations as things then went: and ſome of them got hither with ſo much ſpeed, that they out-ran any intelligence I could get out of England. To-morrow I ſhall be in your livery, and perhaps try whether your Bruſſels camlet will reſiſt Iriſh rain, as I have known it do that of Flanders. I muſt thank you for the preſent, as coming very ſeaſonably, both in reſpect of the time of the year, and that, for aught I can yet find, my Michaelmas rent would hardly have purchaſed two cloaks: and that your ſtuff will make me, if I ſhall be honeſtly dealt with.

I know both from hence and out of England, you are informed of all that paſſes here. The Commiſſioners and their dependents, I mean lawyers, and the train belonging to that Court, have all the buſineſs, and will have all the money; and conſequently, if they pleaſe, much of the land contended for, and to be diſtributed. In England they are revenging upon us here the falling of their rents, but, I doubt, not repairing themſelves; they have us, and perhaps the King, at an advantage: the King muſt be ſupplied, and England only can do it. I wiſh we could hear of ſome overtures towards peace; then would the King be freed from a neceſſity of conſenting to unreaſonable

able things; or we ſhould be the better able to bear the interdicture of our trade with England: for to that, upon the matter, the forbidding us to ſend our cattle to their markets will amount. I am, very really Sir, your moſt affectionate ſervant.

From Sir William Coventry.

SIR, Whitehall, November 2, 1666.

I Have received the favour you did me of the 5th, N. S. and received with it the bill of exchange for fifty pounds, which, I doubt not, will ſuddenly be paid. I owe ſo many of thoſe advantages to your care and kindneſs, that they become ordinary, and do not leave me any new expreſſions for my thanks.

We have great expectations what the Swedes army at Bremen, and the new confederation againſt them, will produce. We hear the Duke of Savoy and the State of Geneva are falling out, which probably will not want partners in its ſucceſs: ſo that the influence of Sixty-ſix will extend itſelf farther than the puritans allowance for the Revelations to be fulfilled in, which they confine to England.

We are debating ſtill in Parliament which way to raiſe money, but we draw nearer a concluſion; and I believe the next week will bring it to good maturity. I am, Sir, your moſt affectionate humble ſervant.

From the Duke of Ormond.

SIR, Dublin, Dec. 18, 1666.

YOurs of the $\frac{9}{19}$ paſt found me on my way hither, where I propoſe to ſpend the reſt of the winter. How the ſummer will be ſpent, ſeems very doubtful; our preparations for the war would make one think we are ſure of a peace; which may be well ſaid without any reflection on the King and his Miniſters.

I am once to thank you for your great civility to my nephew Clancarty, in whoſe conſideration you have undertaken to endeavour a paſs for Colonel Murphy, and for the diſpoſition of the money the Colonel was ordered (if he thought fit) to put into your hand. I have by this poſt written to Sir John Shaw to draw it into England when he ſhall find it beſt; and I am prepared to pay the Colonel here.

I believe you heard as ſoon of the ſuppreſſion, as of the raiſing, of the Scottiſh commotion; perhaps equal credit would not be given in Holland to both. It made me haſten hither, and prepare myſelf to have kept Chriſtmas in the North, if the rebellion had laſted. What diſcovery will be made, and juſtice done upon the offenders, you will receive ſooner knowledge of out of England, than from hence. I am very confident they had well-wiſhers here; which is a good, or rather a bad, ſtep to correſpondency, as that is to conjunction. Thoſe that think well of Preſbyterians, diſtinguiſh thoſe fellows, and call them Remonſtrators. I think the true difference is, theſe thought they had power to change the government, and the other do wiſh they had.

When you are at leiſure, I wiſh to know what kind of fort is raiſed at Charleroy, and what number of men, horſe, and foot, it will contain. I am, with all reality, Sir, your moſt affectionate humble ſervant.

From the Duke of Ormond.

SIR, Dublin, January 29, 1667.

THE ſucceſs of your negotiations gives no man greater ſatisfaction for the part you had in it, than to me. The happy conſequences which may reaſonably be expected from the concluſion of that treaty, may extend farther and laſt longer, than I have had time, ſince I received yours of the 24th inſtant,

stant, to consider. I confess, my first reflections were upon the good effect it will have at home, and the good humour it is likely to put the Parliament in at their first meeting; which I look upon as the foundation of all other advantages to be derived from it by reputation, and all the good effects of that amongst our neighbours. I should be glad to hear where or when you are like to fix, that my letters may be conveyed to you when I think they may be worth your receiving from, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant.

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

SIR, Breda, August 4, N. S. 1667.

YOURS of the 29th July I have received, and thank you for it. I doubt not but by this time you have heard of the several treaties of peace signed here the $\frac{21}{31}$ of July. We were so very busy in dispatching away Sir John Coventry for England with the treaties, that I had not leisure till now to give you an account of it. That between the States and us consisteth in an absolute abolition of all pretences on either side, each to remain masters of what they were in possession of the $\frac{10}{20}$ of May 1667; what since taken, to be restored, as to lands and fortresses: ships are yet liable till after publication, when all hostilities are to cease within twelve days in the Channel, and so proportionably in other seas; then the whole treaty of 1662 renewed, and we both to make use of the articles between France and this State for contraband goods, till such time as we can agree of one between ourselves. The rest is a restoring of the treaty in 1662, as to all its articles except the eleventh, wherein our pretensions are contained. As to the act of navigation, you will hear much noise, that that is repealed. There is no such thing; neither doth the

the article about that matter give the States any more advantage, than as I conceive the act gave them before. As to the French, we reſtore all to each other that each hath taken, and all things done put in oblivion. As to Denmark, —— the debt he owed the Hamburgh company, France ſtanding very firm to him upon the point; and their greateſt argument was, that it was not a debt contracted by him or his father; but, on the contrary, impoſed on his father for having aſſiſted the late King; and beſides they gave us our choice either to agree thus, or to account for what had been taken on each ſide, and render: the latter was thought the more prejudicial to the King our Maſter; and ſo this hath paſſed. And there is, I think, the ſubſtance of the three treaties.

How or where this letter will find you, we know not: for we here believe Bruſſels beſieged, and that, according to the faſhion of this year's campaign, is little leſs than taken.

All public Miniſters have, or will have, left this town within a day or two, except ourſelves. To-morrow fortnight they all meet here again, expecting the ratification. I am, Sir, with very great ſincerity, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

From my Lord Hollis.

SIR, Breda, July 4, N. S. 1667.

I Have received yours by my Lord Stafford's ſervant, and ſee you have put off your journey hither in expectation we might be removing hence; and for which it ſeems the Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo is pleaſed to expreſs himſelf with ſo much civility and kindneſs towards us; for which both my Lord Ambaſſador Coventry and myſelf do return our moſt humble thanks. But it will not be poſſible that we

can

can remove so soon; so as assuredly you will have time enough to do us that favour, and very gladly we shall receive it from you; when we may at leisure discourse of the present posture of our affairs, and make those sad reflections which they deserve; and which will be much fitter for a conference, than to be set down in paper. I shall reserve them till then, and in the mean time, and ever, remain, Sir, your very affectionate and most humble servant.

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

SIR, Breda, August $\frac{12}{22}$, 1667.

I Am very thankful to you for the buck you sent us; and it came very well, and so seasonably, that I made use of some of it the very morning it came. We have no news to send you from hence, but that we are now altogether employed in jollity, and expect our ships to give us some sea physic, to purge the excesses we make. Your health is not only what we drink, but what we pray for. The first part hath already been useful to digest our venison, and the other we reserve for more important considerations. In conclusion, we hear more of drums and trumpets since the peace, than we did in the war; though I hope this will not be so fatal a noise as they make at Lisle. I am sorry both for the want of your company, and the reason of it. Now, our own peace is done, I could wish with all my heart Christendom's were so too. Sir, I pray believe me to be, what I very sincerely am, your most faithful humble servant.

From

*From my * Lord Liſle.*

SIR, September 26, 1667.

SInce I had your laſt letter, I have made you no acknowledgment of it: a retirement is in ſeveral reſpects like the night of one's life, in the obſcurity and darkneſs, and in the ſleepineſs and doſedneſs: which I mention to put you in mind that I am only by my poſture of life apt to be failing towards you.

What is of Court or aſſemblies near us, is at my Lord Crofts's. Sir Thomas Ingram this ſummer hath made no noiſe at all. Old Lady Devonſhire keeps up her feaſts ſtill; and that hath been of late Mr. Waller's chief theatre: the aſſembly of wits at Mr. Comptroller's will ſcarce let him in: and poor Sir John Denham is fallen to the ladies alſo. He is at many of the meetings at dinners, talks more than ever he did, and is extremely pleaſed with thoſe that ſeem willing to hear him; and from that obligation exceedingly praiſes the Dutcheſs of Monmouth and my Lady Cavendiſh; if he had not the name of being mad, I believe in moſt companies he would be thought wittier than ever he was. He ſeems to have few extravagancies, beſides that of telling ſtories of himſelf, which he is always inclined to. Some of his acquaintance ſay, that extreme vanity was a cauſe of his madneſs, as well as it is an effect.

All perſons of note hereabouts are going to their winter-quarters at London. The burning of the city begins to be talked of as a ſtory like that of the burning of Troy. At Sheen we are like to be bare: Lady Luddal ſeems uncertain in her ſtay; and we hear that, when Sir James Sheen and his Lady were ready to come from Ireland, great cramps took my

* Afterwards Earl of Leiceſter.

Lady

Lady in her limbs: and Sir James's ſervants doubt whether we ſhall ſee him this winter.

I deſire, Sir, your leave to kiſs my Lady Temple's hands, and my Lady Giffard's hands, by your letter. My daughter and I were in diſpute which of us two ſhould write this time to Bruſſels; and, becauſe I was judged to have more leiſure, it fell to me, and my Lady Temple is to have the next from her.

I wiſh, you, Sir, all good ſucceſſes in your buſineſs, and am your very affectionate ſervant.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

SIR, Madrid, September 27, 1667.

THIS begs your pardon for my not writing by the laſt poſt, and preſents you my humble thanks for that letter I ſhould then have acknowledged, and another of September 7, N. S. which, with many advices very conſiderable and deſireable to be known, gives me one particular ſatisfaction, to hear that one copy of the treaty is in ſo certain a way of getting home. There are two more gone by ſea, one from Calais, Auguſt 2, N. S. the other expreſs by a veſſel from Rigo in Gallicia, Auguſt 31, N. S. deſigned to ſet a gentleman of my company aſhore in Ireland on the ſouth part; which courſe I directed as a certain way to avoid the danger of the ſea, and no very tedious way of paſſage; I ſuppoſe all theſe likely to arrive in England much about a time.

This place affords not much conſiderable news to return you. Our Portugal adjuſtment keeps the pace of the accuſtomed Spaniſh gravity (if it proceed forward at all.) They have here removed the Preſident of the Hazienda, (or, as they call it, *jubilar'd* him) giving him his ſalary ſtill of 6000 ducats *per annum*, for his own life, his wife's and his eldeſt ſon's; and alſo have given him ſome other conſiderable *Mercedes*;

cedes; and have made Don Lopez de los Rois Preſident de Hazienda in his room. This laſt is Caſtillo's near kinſman and creature, the other a near kinſman of the Duke of Medina's de las Torres.

The Conde de Fwenſalida is lately dead (a Grandee of Spain.) My chief buſineſs here is a longing expectation to hear of the treaty I have made here to be received in England, which now I daily ſhall hope for; and, as any thing thence, or here, occurs worth your notice, it ſhall be preſented you by, Sir, your moſt affectionate and moſt humble ſervant.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

SIR, Madrid, December $\frac{14}{24}$, 1667.

I Hope from your goodneſs to find pardon for miſſing the other poſts, but dare not adventure your patience to fail this alſo, though I am now hurried by buſineſs, ſo that I have not time ſo largely and conſiderably to write as I deſire. Be pleaſed then to know that Mr. Godolphin's journey to Portugal ſuffered ſo much delay, until it was found neceſſary that I muſt go in perſon thither; and then he reſolved to make uſe of the King my Maſter's leave to return into England, and began his journey for Bilboa on Tueſday morning laſt. You know the value of Mr. Godolphin ſo well, that it is needleſs to tell you my griefs in parting from one of the moſt accompliſhed, worthy, and generous friends that ever I met with: and am heartily glad that your friendſhip and mine do alſo *convenire in aliquo tertio.*

My journey for Portugal hath almoſt met with as many or more calms than Mr. Godolphin's: and, in good earneſt, I am not able to give you any light, whether it be likely to proceed or no.

The Spaniards have reformed two regiments of Germans at Badajos; very good officers they ſay, and

and are reſolved never to ſerve the Spaniard more. The King of Spain has had the ſmall-pox; but is ſo recovered, as they fear no danger.

In Portugal, Don Pedro is made Governor to aſſiſt his brother in the ſame nature as his mother did when ſhe was Regent: and the addreſſes are made in the ſame manner.

The Queen is returned to a convent, aſſerting herſelf to be a maid: and the King has under his hand and oath delivered the ſame. So the Queen purſues the cauſe among the church-men to have the marriage declared null. There are Cortes to be called there January 1, N. S. On the 7th inſtant, N. S. the Marquis of Sande (the Ambaſſador that brought the Queen) was ſhot and killed in the ſtreet with a carabine, and no body knows who did it.

I wiſh you a very merry Chriſtmas, and am moſt affectionately, Sir, your moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

P. S. If I go to Portugal, pray continue our correſpondence to Mr. John Werden, a Gentleman worthy of your favour, and very able and ſecurely my friend, who does me the favour to continue in my houſe, and manages the King's buſineſs in this Court in my abſence, and will ſend me your letters.

From Monſieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Jan.
SIR, 28, 1668.

BY a copy of the letter written from the King of England to the States, I underſtand you are a peaceable man: and the memorial you have given to deſire commiſſioners, in order to examine jointly with you into the means

De Monſieur Gourville.

A Lunebourg, 28,
Monſieur, Jan. 1668.

PAR la copie de la lettre que ſa Majeſté Britannique a écrite aux Etats des Provinces Unies, j'apprens que vous êtes un homme pacifique; la memoire que vous avez preſentée pour demander des commiſſaires pour chercher enſemble les moyens de par-

means for a good peace, makes us believe that you desire in good earnest to give repose to Christendom. You know I have always desired it; but however it will be the more agreeable to see it done by your hands. In good earnest, I am glad the King of England has made choice of you for so great and important an affair: when his Majesty knows your merits, I assure myself you will be always in the greatest employments; and I assure you, that I shall always be making wishes for your advancement, till I see you made Chancellor of England. In the mean time I shall be ever, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

P. S. If you have a desire to make the peace, I look upon it as very far advanced; the Princes here shew their desire of it. I did not think to stay in this country above eight or ten days; yet here I am after four months. Pray let me know whether you think the assembly will be at Aix, and near what time, that I may keep my lodgings there; and, if you will tell me in confidence the opinion you have of the peace, I shall be obliged to you: mine is, that you may make it if you please; but I am not yet convinced whether you can hinder it, if Monsieur de Witt has so much desire to

parvenir à une bonne paix, doit faire croire que c'est tout de bon que vous voulez donner le répos à la Chrétienté. Vous savez comme je l'ai toujours souhaité; mais elle me sera autant plus agréable, de la voir faite de vôtre main: tout de bon je me rejouïs que sa Majesté Britannique vous ait choisi pour une si grande & si importante affaire. Quand elle connoîtra votre merite, je m'assure que vous aurez toujours les plus grands emplois; & je vous assure de la meilleure foi du monde, que jusqu'à ce que je vous voye Chancelier d'Angleterre, je ferai toujours des vœux pour vôtre avancement. Et en attendant, je ferai toujours plus veritablement que personne du monde, vôtre très humble & très obéissant serviteur.

P. S. Si vous avez bien envie de faire la paix, je la tiens fort avancée; les Princes ici temoignent la desirer: je ne croyois demeurer en ce païs ici que huit ou dix jours, & m'y voila au bout de quatre mois. Je vous prie de me mander si vous croyez que l'on s'assemblera à Aix, & à peu près le tems, afin que j'y fasse retenir ma chambre: & si vous voulez confidemment me mander l'opinion que vous avez de la paix, je vous en serai obligé. La mienne est que si vous la voulez que vous la ferez: mais je ne suis pas si convaincu que vous la puissiez empêcher, si Monsieur de Witt a autant d'envie de la faire, comme bien de gens le croyent,

to make it, as many people believe, according to what I am told.

croyent, ſelon ce que l'on m'en mande.

From Monſieur Gourville.

De Monſieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Feb.
SIR, 22, 1668.

ALL your modeſt reaſoning will not hinder me from believing that any other Miniſter the King of England could have ſent to the Hague, would not have finiſhed in many months what you have done in four days. Without flattery, it is a thing you ought to be extremely ſatisfied with. I ſuſpected at firſt, that you had made this treaty by ſome concert with the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo: for, though the King my maſter has ſo much reaſon to be content to ſee him grant what his Majeſty demanded, nevertheleſs the bad counſel of the Spaniards has put them in a condition to receive your work as the ſafety of what remained to them of Flanders. I never lamented my abſence from the Hague but ſince I knew you were there. I cannot yet tell what time I ſhall be obliged to ſtay here, Monſieur de Lionne having charged me from the King with ſome orders in this court, which I have reaſon to believe will accommodate my affairs. I am ſtrongly perſuaded the King my

A Lunebourg, 22
Monſieur, Fevr. 1668.

TOute la modeſtie de vôtre raiſonnement ne m'empêchera pas de croire, que tout autre Miniſtre que ſa Majeſté Britannique eut envoyé à la Haye, n'auroit pas fait en bien de mois ce que vous avez achevé en quatre jours. Sans flaterie c'eſt une choſe qui vous doit extrememement ſatisfaire. J'ai d'abord ſoupçonné que vous aviez fait ce traité de quelque concert avec Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo: car encore que le Roi mon Maître ait tant ſujet d'être content de le voir accorder ce qu'il a demandé; néanmoins le mechant conſeil des Eſpagnols les a mis en état de recevoir vôtre ouvrage comme le ſalut de ce qui leur reſtera aux Païs-Bas. Je n'avois point regretté mon abſence de la Haye que depuis que je ſai que vous y êtes: je ne ſaurois encore ſavoir le tems que je ſerai obligé de demeurer ici; Monſieur de Lionne m'ayant chargé de la part du Roi de quelques ordres en cette cour, tant que j'ai lieu de croire que cela accommodera mes affaires. C'eſt pourtant un chemin qui me peut conduire à cette fin: je ſuis très fortement perſuadé que le

my master will hold to the alternative, Monsieur de Lionne having sent me word that his Majesty was content with what you had done at the Hague; and that, if the manner of it had been a little more obliging, there were nothing more to be desired. These Princes mightily desire the peace upon your conditions; the league of the Rhine is extremely satisfied with it; so that, in all appearance, Spain may do what they please; for this time their country shall be saved, no thanks to them. I would fain know whether you think of going to Aix. I have a great mind to see this negotiation: and I should have nothing to desire, if I were sure to find you there.

I see by this business here, that the peace will be made; or else, that there will be a great war; but I rather think the former. And, if they will let me come no more to France, it is there (at Aix) I design to reside for the rest of my life. I doubt not but they will let me take one turn to Paris to see if I can make my peace; but I fear they will raise insupportable difficulties.

I desire you to believe me always, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant.

It may be I shall see you at the Hague sooner than you think.

From

Roi mon Maître se tiendra à l'alternative. Monsieur de Lionne m'a mandé que sa Majesté étoit contente de ce que vous aviez fait à la Haye: & que si la façon en eut été un peu plus obligéante, il n'y auroit eu rien à desirer. Ces Princes ici souhaitent fort la paix aux conditions que vous la voulez faire: la ligue du Rhin en est très satisfaite, ainsi selon les apparences les Espagnols auront beau faire, on sauvera leur païs en dépit d'eux pour cette fois ici. Je voudrois bien savoir si vous croyez aller à Aix; j'ai fort envie de voir cette negociation, & je n'aurois rien à desirer si je savois vous y trouver.

Je voi par cette affaire ici, que la paix ce fera, ou que se fera une grande guerre; mais tout me fait croire le premier; & si on ne veut point de moi en France, je m'en vai prendre mon parti pour le reste de mes jours. Je ne doute point que l'on ne me laisse faire un tour à Paris pour voir si je pourrois m'accommoder; mais je crains que l'on ne me fasse des difficultés insupportables.

Je vous supplie de me croire toujours, Monsieur, vôtre très humble & très obeïssant serviteur.

Je pourrai peut-être vous voir à la Haye plutôt que vous ne pensez.

De

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, Feb.
SIR, 25, 1668.

THE bearer hereof delivered me the letter you did me the honour to write to me from Antwerp of the 24th inſtant; wherein I behold with pleaſure your zeal and diligence for the advancement of our common affair; as alſo the good diſpoſitions that your offices have already raiſed in the mind of the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo, and the appearance of a more ſatisfactory declaration we ſhall receive upon the common requeſt to be made him from the King of Great Britain and this State. I delayed not to communicate and deliberate the contents of the ſaid letter, with the States Commiſſioners deputed upon the ſubject of our laſt negotiations; and we hope you will judge as we do, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for his Excellence to declare himſelf without farther delay or reſerve, agreeably to what is concluded between England and this State, without deſiring beforehand any concert more particular than that which is made, ſigned, and ratified, between us and our Maſters: for ſince the King of France has ſeen by his laſt conqueſts how weak and negligent the Spaniards are, it is to be feared, that, if the

De Monſieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 25
Monſieur, Fevr. 1668.

LE porteur de celle-ci m'a bien délivré la lettre qu'il vous a plû me faire l'honneur de m'écrire d'Anvers le 24me de ce mois; & j'y ai vû avec agrément le zele & la diligence que vous avez apporté pour l'avancement de nôtre affaire commune; comme auſſi les bonnes diſpoſitions que vos offices ont deja fait naître dans l'eſprit de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, & l'apparence d'une declaration plus ſatisfaiſante que nous recevrons ſur la priere commune qu'on lui va faire de la part du Roi de la Grande Brétagne & de cet Etat. Je n'ai pas tardé de communiquer & deliberer le contenu de ladite lettre avec les Commiſſaires des Etats, deputés ſur le ſujet de nos dernieres negociations; & nous eſperons que vous jugerez avec nous qu'il eſt abſolument neceſſaire que ſon Excellence ſe declare ſans plus de délai & ſans aucune reſerve conformement à la diſpoſition de ce qui eſt conclu entre l'Angleterre & cet Etat, ſans deſirer au préamble aucun concert plus particulier que celui qui eſt fait, ſigné, & ratifié entre nous & par nos Maîtres. Car puiſque le Roi de France a vû par les derniers progrès, comme les Eſpagnols ſont foibles & negligens; il eſt à apprehender que

the Marquis lets the month of March expire without plainly declaring himself as we desire, the King of France may be very glad, after the expiration of the said term, not to be obliged, by virtue of his word given, to make the peace upon the alternative, but may make use of the time and disorder of the Spaniards, to surprise Luxemburg, and a great part of what remains to the King of Spain in the Netherlands; and to order his affairs afterwards as occurrences shall happen. The States-General are obliged and entirely resolved, in case of refusal from the King of France, or any evasions from that side, after it has been insinuated to him that the Marquis has accepted either part of the alternative, to execute, in the most vigorous manner possible, what is contained in our third separate article; and by consequence, jointly with England, to break into open war against France, to act in concert, not only for defence of the Netherlands, but, also, and above all, to attack and infest France by sea, by descents, invasions into the country, and all other ways. But because it may be presupposed in public, that the King of France, after having given his word to the States, and afterwards by a circular letter, not only to the King of Great Britain and the said States, but also

si Monsieur le Marquis laisse écouler le mois de Mars sans s'être declaré nettement, comme nous le desirons, le Roi de France ne soit très aise de n'être pas obligé après l'expiration en vertu de sa parole donnée, de faire la paix sur l'alternative; & qu'il ne se serve encore du tems & du desordre des Espagnols pour surprendre en même façon le Luxembourg, & une grande partie de ce qui reste au Roi d'Espagne dans le Païs-Bas; & pour se regler par après selon les occurrences. Les Etats Generaux se trouvent obligés & entierement resolus, au cas de réfus du Roi de France, ou des échappatoires recherchés de son côté, après qu'on lui aura insinué que Monsieur le Marquis ait accepté l'une ou l'autre partie de l'alternative, d'executer en la maniere la plus vigoureuse que faire se pourra, le contenu du troisieme de nos articles separés; par consequent de rompre conjointement avec l'Angleterre en guerre ouverte contre la France, d'agir de concert non seulement pour la defense du Païs-Bas; mais aussi & surtout d'attaquer & incommoder la France de leurs forces maritimes; & même par des descentes, ou invasions dans le Païs, & en toute autre maniere: mais d'autant qu'il faut presupposer publiquement, que le Roi de France, après avoir donné sa parole par une lettre circulaire, non seulement au Roi de la Grande Bretagne & aux dits Etats, mais aussi

alſo to many Princes of Germany, will not break a promiſe ſo ſolemnly made; we cannot by any means enter into concert and league with Spain, before this caſe effectually arrives; and we think that ſuch a league and concert made before the ſeaſon would be likely indeed to produce the effect the Marquis deſires; but which is far from his Majeſty of England's aim, or that of the States; for you cannot but know, that his Excellence would prefer the continuance of the war with our aſſiſtance, to the concluſion of the peace upon the alternative; and his Majeſty, as well as the States, prefers this peace before the continuance of a war, whereof they muſt bear all the coſts, and all the profit be to the King of Spain. Now, we comprehend very well, that ſuch a concert and ſuch a league as his Excellence deſires, would put the King of France upon an abſolute neceſſity of continuing the war; becauſe, if he ſhould comply after ſuch a league made with his enemies, it would appear publickly, that he was obliged to it by this bond, and conſequently by his enemies themſelves. And therefore the matter is judiciouſly enough propoſed by his Excellence for arriving at his end; but, ſince it would make us miſs of ours, we hope you will put the Marquis off it, and make him quit

auſſi à pluſieurs Princes d'Allemagne, ne voudra pas manquer à une promeſſe ſi ſolemnellement donnée; nous ne pourrions en aucune façon entrer en concert & ligue avec l'Eſpagne, avant que ce cas ſoit effectivement arrivé: & nous jugeons qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue faite devant la ſaiſon, ſeroit fort capable de produire l'effet que Monſieur le Marquis ſouhaite, mais qui eſt tout à fait éloigné du but de ſa Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne, & de leurs Hautes Puiſſances; car il ne peut vous être inconnu que ſon Excellence preferreroit la continuation de la guerre avec nos ſecours, à la concluſion de la paix ſur l'alternative. Et ſa Majeſté auſſi bien que leurs Hautes Puiſſances preferent cette paix à la continuation d'une guerre dont ils ſeroient obligés de porter toutes les depenſes, & dont tout le profit ſeroit pour le Roi d'Eſpagne. Or, nous comprennons fort bien qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue que ſon Excellence deſire, mettroit le Roi de France dans une neceſſité abſolue de continuer la guerre; d'autant que ſe rendant après une telle ligue faite avec ſes ennemis, il paroîtroit publiquement qu'il y fût obligé par cette liaiſon, & par conſequent par ſes ennemis mêmes; & partant l'affaire eſt judicieuſement propoſée par ſon Excellence pour parvenir à ſon but; mais puiſque elle nous feroit perdre le nôtre, nous eſperons que vous en detournerez Monſieur le Marquis, & que vous lui ferez per-

quit all hopes of engaging us, by the force of his great genius, to enter of our own accord, where we have no mind to come but upon a fatal neceſſity. I think his Excellence does wrong to the King of Great Britain and the States, in not truſting their affection and their honour, which are concerned, as well as their intereſt, after the alliance and the peace they have already made together: but if, after his Excellence has accepted our propoſitions, the King of France ſhall happen to draw back or ſeek evaſions, then the King of Great Britain and the States-General entering into the party, and even into a rupture with France, it will be very juſt and proper to concert with his Excellence after what manner to act in the territory of the King his Maſter; and yet in the mean while not omit entering into action without the leaſt loſs of time. Therefore it will be no way neceſſary for me to be upon our frontiers towards the end propoſed by his Excellence, which beſides will be wholly impoſſible for me; much leſs to ſend any body from hence to Bruſſels, ſince the States-Deputies, who are there at preſent, are the ſame we ſhould chuſe for the end deſired: for I aſſure you I can name no body in whom the States as well as I in particular can have greater

dre toute eſperance de ne pouvoir pas par ſon grande genie même nous engager comme par gayeté de cœur, où nous ne voulons venir qu'au cas d'une fatale neceſſité. Il me ſemble que ſon Excellence feroit tort au Roi de la Grande Bretagne, & aux Etats Géneraux, de ne ſe fier pas à leur affection & à leur honneur, dont il y va ſi bien que de leur interêt, après la liaiſon & le pas qu'ils ont fait deja enſemble. Mais ſi après qu'elle aura accepté nos propoſitions, le Roi de France vient à reculer, ou à chercher des échappatoires; alors le Roi de la Grande Brétagne, & les Etats Géneraux, entrant dans le parti, & même en rupture avec la France, il ſera très à propos que l'on concerte avec ſon Excellence la manière dont on agira dans le territoire du Roi ſon Maître; & que pourtant l'on ne laiſſe pas cependant d'entrer en action ſans la moindre perte de tems. Il ne ſera donc nullement neceſſaire que je me trouve ſur nos frontiers pour la fin propoſée par ſon Excellence, ce que d'ailleurs me ſeroit tout à fait impoſſible; & encore bien moins l'on envoye quelqu'un d'ici à Bruxelles, d'autant que les Deputés des Etats qui s'y trouvent preſentement, ſont ceux-là même que l'on pourroit choiſir pour la fin deſirée; vous pouvant aſſurer que je ne pouvois nommer perſonne, en qui l'Etat auſſi bien que moi en particulier, puiſſent avoir plus de confiance, dont ils vous donneront

greater confidence, whereof I do not doubt but they will give you proofs, as well as of their ſincerity and good conduct. I deſire you therefore, Sir, to uſe them with as much freedom as me, and I will engage they ſhall do the ſame by you. And, if you have been at all ſatisfied with my manner of tranſacting, as I have been extremely with yours, that you will be alſo ſatisfied with that of the ſaid Deputies.

For the reſt we approve extremely the diligence you make on all ſides in ſending to the Miniſters of the King of England, and the States now at Paris: and from your common offices we promiſe to ourſelves an univerſal peace in Chriſtendom, to the great advantage of the public, and the eternal glory of yourſelves, which no man deſires more than he who is, Sir, your moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſervant.

neront ſans doute des preuves, auſſi bien que de leur integrité & de leur bonne conduite. Je vous ſupplie donc, Monſieur, d'uſer avec eux de la même franchiſe, dont vous avez uſé envers moi, & je vous demeure garand qu' eux de leur côté en uſeront de même: & ſi vous avez été en quelque façon ſatisfait de ma maniere d'agir, comme je l'ai été de la vôtre, que vous le ſerez tout à fait de celle deſdits Deputés de l'Etat.

Au reſte, nous approuvons fort les diligences que vous ferez de part & d'autre directement aux Miniſtres du Roi de la Grande Bretagne & de cet Etat à Paris; & nous nous promettons de vos offices communs la paix univerſelle de la Chrétienté, au grand profit du public, & à la gloire éternelle de vos perſonnes: laquelle vous ſouhaite avec autant d'affection que perſonne du monde, celui qui eſt, & qui demeurera à jamais, Monſieur, vôtre très humble & très affectionne ſerviteur.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March 5,
SIR, 1668.

IT is with great ſatisfaction that I have learned from your diſpatch of the 2d inſtant, and by that of the Deputies of this State, the proviſional ſucceſs it has pleaſed God to grant to your cares and

De Monſieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 5
Monſieur, Mars, 1668.

C'A été avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction que j'ai appris par vôtre depêche du 2d de ce mois, & par celle de Meſſieurs les Deputés de l'Etat, le ſuccès proviſionnel qu'il a plû au bon Dieu d'octroyer à vos ſoins & à vôtre

and application to the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo; and I doubt not but the conduct you have uſed to diſpoſe thoſe of the Council of State of this country to conform to his Excellency's opinion, will be applauded by them. I hope, before the receipt of this, you will have received from his Excellence a declaration in form, and in writing, couched in clear and ſatisfactory terms, without any ambiguity or obſcurity; and, in ſhort, ſuch as will leave no occaſion or pretext to France to find any thing to object againſt, but what ſhall put them to a neceſſity of declaring themſelves plainly on their ſide, upon the conditions and articles of our convention, and ſhall put us out of doubt and trouble of what we have to do. For myſelf, I ſhall endeavour all I can, that this State ſhall be put in a poſture of entering vigorouſly and effectually upon the defence of Flanders, in caſe, after a plain and ſatisfactory anſwer from his Excellence, the King of France ſhall leave us any apprehenſions of his endeavouring to make farther progreſſes in this country, which we cannot ſuppoſe without the prejudice of ſuſpecting that the ſaid King will falſify his word given, and the promiſe ſo ſolemnly made by his public and circular letters; which God forbid, and which however

direction auprès du Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo; & je ne doute point que la conduite que vous avez tenue pour diſpoſer ceux du Conſeil d'Etat de ce païs à ſe conformer au ſentiment de ſon Excellence, ne produiſe leur applaudiſſement. J'eſpère que devant que celle-ci vous ſera rendue, vous aurez reçu de ſon Excellence une declaration, dans les formes & par écrit, couchée en termes clairs & ſatisfaiſants, ſans aucune ambiguité ou obſcurité; & enfin telle qui ne laiſſe aucune occaſion ni même aucun pretexte à la France d'y trouver quelque choſe à rédire; mais qui la mette en neceſſité de ſe declarer auſſi de ſon côté nettement ſur les conditions & articles de nôtre convention, & nous hors de doute & d'embarras de ce que nous avons à faire. Quant à moi, je ne manquerai pas de tenir la main à ce que l'Etat ſe mette tout à fait en poſture de pouvoir accourir vigoureuſement & efficacement à la defenſe du Païs-Bas en cas qu'après une declaration nette & ſatisfaiſante de ſon Excellence, le Roi de France nous laiſſe encore de l'apprehenſion de plus grands progrès que ſa Majeſté voudroit tâcher de faire dans le même païs; ce que nous ne pouvons pas preſuppoſer ſans être préoccupé d'un ſoupçon que ledit Roi voudroit bien fauſſer ſa parole donnée, & ſa promeſſe ſi ſolemnellement faite par des lettres publiques & circulaires: ce qu'à Dieu ne plaiſe; & ce que pour-

however common prudence ſhould make us ſuppoſe to be poſſible, that we might not neglect the means, whereof we have ſo often diſcourſed, and upon which the States have given order to their Ambaſſadors in England, to concert more particularly with the King of Great Britain and his Miniſters.

You have farther obliged me by not giving a copy of my foregoing diſpatch to the Marquis, ſince in my opinion he might have made uſe of it to provoke and anger the King of France, and oblige him, as it were in point of honour, to be obſtinate in the war againſt the deſire and intention of the King of England and the States; but by giving his Excellence ſo much part therein, as to read to him our ſeparate articles; that is what I cannot but entirely approve, as being wholly agreeable to my manner of proceeding, as well as your precaution, wherewith you kept the common cauſe from the danger above-mentioned, in not giving him a copy.

For the reſt, I refer myſelf to what the Deputies of the States ſhall have already told you upon the contents of your former diſpatch, and to what they ſhall communicate to you, from time to time, of the intentions of their High Mightineſſes, and ſhall ever remain

pourtant la prudence veut que nous nous figurions comme poſſible, pour ne negliger pas les moyens dont nous nous ſommes bien ſouvent entretenus, & ſur leſquels les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambaſſadeurs en Angleterre de concerter plus particulierement avec le Roi de la Grande Bretagne & ſes Miniſtres.

Vous m'avez encore obligé de n'avoir point donné copie de ma précedente depêche au Marquis; puiſque à mon jugement, on auroit pû s'en ſervir pour aigrir & picquer le Roi de France, & pour l'obliger en quelque façon, par point d'honneur, à s'opiniatrer dans la guerre contre le but & ſouhait du Roi de la Grande Brétagne, & des Etats Généraux. Mais que vous ayez donné part à ſon Excellence par lecture de nos articles ſéparés, c'eſt ce que je ne puis qu'approuver entierement, comme étant fort conforme à ma maniere d'agir & de proceder; auſſi bien que la precaution dont vous avez garanti la cauſe commune du ſudit danger, en ne lui en ayant point donné copie.

Au reſte, je me remets à ce que Meſſieurs les Deputés de l'Etat vous auront déja dit & temoigné ſur le contenu de vôtre depêche précedente, & à ce qu'ils vous communiqueront de tems en tems de l'intention de leurs Hautes Puiſſances: & demeurerai à jamais celui qui ſuis avec paſſion,

remain what I am with paſſion, Sir, your moſt affectionate and humble ſervant.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March
SIR, 16, 1668.

YOUR diſpatch of the 11th inſtant did not come to my hands till the 14th at noon, the courier who brought it having not been diſmiſſed from Bruſſels till the 13th.

I was very glad to ſee you had at laſt diſpoſed the Marquis to diſpatch the Baron of Bergeyck for Aix la Chapelle, being very much perſuaded that it imports us mightily to have a quick concluſion of the peace, or elſe to ſee clearly into the moſt inward diſpoſitions of the King of France, as well as thoſe of the Spaniſh Court; and that all delay is very prejudicial to our intentions, and to the intereſts of Spain. And, that we may be neither ſurpriſed nor abuſed on either ſide, I think, in the preſent conjuncture, two things are abſolutely neceſſary: the firſt is, that England and this State will be furniſhed by ſea and land; and the other, that we take away, not only all lawful cauſe, but alſo, as much as poſſible, all pretext, from France to delay or avoid the concluding and ſigning the treaty of peace.

To

ſion, Monſieur, vôtre très affectionné & très humble ſerviteur.

De Monſieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 16
Monſieur, Mars, 1668.

VOTRE depêche du 11me de ce mois ne m'a été rendue que le 14me après midi; le courier qui l'a apportée, n'ayant été expedié & parti de Bruxelles que le 13me.

J'y ai été fort aiſe de voir que vous aviez enfin diſpoſé Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo à depêcher le Baron de Bergeyck promptement vers Aix la Chapelle; étant très perſuadé qu'il nous importe d'avoir une prompte concluſion de la paix, ou de voir clair dans les intentions les plus interieures du Roi de France, auſſi bien que dans celles de la cour d'Eſpagne; & que tout delai eſt fort prejudiciable à nos intentions & aux interêts de l'Eſpagne: & afin que nous ne puiſſions pas être ſurpris ou abuſés de côté ou d'autre, je juge qu'en la conjoncture preſente deux choſes nous ſont abſolument neceſſaires; dont la premiere eſt que l'Angleterre & cet Etat ſoient bien armés par mer & par terre; & l'autre qu'on ôte non ſeulement taute cauſe legitime, mais auſſi tant que faire ſe pourra, tout pretexte à la France de delaïer ou d'eſquiver la concluſion & la ſignature du traité de paix.

Pour

To ſatisfy on our ſide for the firſt point, we are reſolved, as ſoon as the ſeaſon will permit, to ſend into the field all our cavalry, which conſiſts of 7300 horſe, and proviſionally 25 regiments of our foot, for which the chief rendezvous ſhall be at Bergen-op-zoom, or thereabouts; from whence there will be a convenient march in a few days into moſt part of the King of Spain's places in the Netherlands.

We have alſo given order for equipping 48 ſhips of war above the number commonly uſed for guard and convoy; and the States have already given order to their Ambaſſadors in England, to concert with the King of Great Britain and his Miniſters, upon the number of ſhips and men that each party ſhall be obliged to have ready, and in what time. Beſides, the Deputies of the States have this day finally agreed with the Miniſters of the Dukes of Brunſwick and Lunebourg, to bring into the ſervice of this State three regiments of horſe, and 3000 foot; and I hope the treaty will be ſigned to-morrow, or the next day. And, farther, they are going here to augment the old militia by new levies, to the number of 12,000 men, with the troops of the ſaid Dukes, which are to enter into the ſervice of the

Pour ſatisfaire de notre côté au premier point, nous ſommes reſolus de mettre en campagne, auſſitôt que la ſaiſon le pourra permettre, toute notre cavalerie, qui conſiſte en ſept mille & trois cens chevaux, & proviſionnellement vingt cinq regimens de notre infanterie, pour lequel le principal rendezvous ſera à Bergopzoom & aux environs; place fort commode pour pouvoir de là nous jetter en peu de tems dans la plûpart des places du Roi d' Eſpagne au Païs-Bas.

Auſſi avons-nous donné ordre pour l'équipage de quarante & huit vaiſſeaux de guerre par deſſus le nombre qui ſert pour la garde & l'eſcorte ordinaire; & il y a déjà quelque tems que les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambaſſadeurs en Angleterre de concerter avec le Roi de la Grande Bretagne & ſes Miniſtres ſur le nombre & la quantité des vaiſſeaux & hommes, que chacun s'obligeroit d'avoir tout prêt & en quel tems. Outre cela les Deputés de l'Etat ſont tombés aujourd'hui finalement d'accord avec les Miniſtres des Ducs de Bronſwich & de Lunebourg, pour faire paſſer au ſervice de cet Etat trois regimens de cavalerie, & trois mille hommes à pied; & j'eſpere que le traité en pourra être ſigné demain, ou après demain; & au ſurplus va-t-on ici encore augmenter la vieille milice par de nouvelles levées juſques au nombre de douze mille hommes, y compris les troupes

deſdits

State: and I will not fail of helping what I can to the accompliſhing of all this, as ſoon as it can be done by the conſtitution of the government. And, if you approve all theſe preparations and diligence, as I hope you will, ſince they ſeem very neceſſary, and no way offenſive, ſince he who really deſires the peace, will find in it his ſupport and advantage; and that theſe forces ſhall not be employed till the laſt neceſſity againſt him, that by his wilfulneſs would diſappoint Chriſtendom of the benefit of it; I deſire you, by your letters, to make the exhortations neceſſary to the King of England and his Miniſters, that they may not fail on that ſide to make the like preparations and diligence.

As to the ſecond point, I think it imports much that the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo ſhould explain himſelf upon which of the two conditions propoſed by the alternative, he pretends to have accepted; wherein there ſeems the leſs difficulty, ſince his Excellence will, without doubt, explain himſelf for the abandoning the places the King of France has conquered the laſt campaign, with their dependencies. But then I think it will be our intereſt

deſdits Ducs qui paſſeront au ſervice de cet Etat: & je ne manquerai pas de tenir la main, & de preſſer autant qu'il me ſera poſſible que tout ce que deſſus ait ſon accompliſſement le plûtôt qu'il ſe pourra faire ſelon la conſtitution de ce gouvernment. Et ſi vous approuvez toutes ces preparations & diligences, comme je l'eſpere, & qu'elles me ſemblent fort neceſſaires & nullement offençantes; d'autant que celui qui voudra la paix réellement, y trouvera ſon appui & ſon avantage; & que leur emploi ſera de la derniere neceſſité contre celui qui par ſon opiniatreté en voudroit fruſtrer la Chrêtienté; je vous ſupplie de faire les exhortations neceſſaires par vos lettres au Roi de la Grande Bretagne & à ſes Miniſtres, afin que de ce côté-là on ne manque pas de faire de ſemblables preparatifs & les même diligences.

Quant au ſecond point, je croi qu'il importe grandement que Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo s'explique, laquelle des deux conditions propoſées par l'alternative il entend avoir accepté: en quoi il me ſemble tant moins de difficulté, que c'eſt ſans contredit que ſon Excellence s'expliquera pour l'abandonement des places que le Roi de France a conquis la campagne paſsée, avec leurs dependences: mais ce ſera, ce me ſemble, alors de nôtre interêt & de nôtre devoir de travailler

tereſt and duty to endeavour that ſome reaſonable exchange be made, for places far in the heart of Flanders, againſt places lately taken in the Franche Compté, or others that ſhall be more for the advantage of France and leſs for the inconvenience of Spain and us.

vailler puiſſamment afin que quelque échange raiſonable ſe puiſſe faire des places les plus avancées en Flandre, contre des places nouvellement occupées dans la Franche Compté, ou autres qui ſeront plus en la bienſéance de la France, & moins à l'incommodité de l'Eſpagne & de nous autres.

Beſides, to take all pretext from France which they may pretend to make upon a defect of powers in the ſaid Marquis, either in the principal matter, or by default of a clauſe of ſubſtitution, or otherwiſe; I think it will be very neceſſary that the King of Great Britain and the States-General ſhall be obliged to ratify and accompliſh whatever ſhall be treated and concluded at Aix; and ſhall promiſe in the firmeſt manner the King of France can deſire, to oblige Spain in caſe of neceſſity to the ſaid ratification and accompliſhment, by all their forces both by ſea and land: and, in ſhort, that in every occurrence they will do very judiciouſly to obviate all exceptions and delays which can be brought to the prejudice of the peace. But farther, when we ſhall have brought the King of France to an abſolute neceſſity of either finally concluding or diſcovering his intention contrary to the peace; in that caſe, upon the

De plus; pour ôter à la France tout pretexte dont elle ſe pourroit ſervir à raiſon qu'il pourroit y avoir quelque manquement au pouvoir dudit Marquis, ou en la matiere principale, ou par defaut de la clauſe de ſubſtitution, ou autrement; il me ſemble qu'il ſera très neceſſaire que la Roi de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Géneraux ſe fâſſent fort de la ratification & de l'accompliſſement de tout ce qui ſera traité & conclu à Aix; & promettent en la maniere la plus forte que le Roi de France le pourra deſirer, d'obliger en cas de beſoin l'Eſpagne à ladite ratification, & au dit accompliſſement, de toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre: & enfin, qu'en toute autre occurrence on fera très judicieuſement d'obvier à toutes les exceptions & délais qui pourroient être apportés au prejudice de la paix. Mais auſſi quand on aura mis par là le Roi de France dans une neceſſité abſolue de proceder outre à la concluſion finale, ou de découvrir ſon intention contraire à la paix; qu'alors

the firſt ſtep France ſhall make to fruſtrate Chriſtendom of ſuch a general good, the King of Great Britain and the States ſhall, without farther delay, bring all their forces by ſea and land, not only for defence of the Spaniards, but alſo for the intent ſpecified in the third of our ſeparate articles, and more amply deduced in my diſpatch of the 25th of February laſt.

For the reſt, if you have received the King of Great Britain's ratification upon our laſt marine treaty, I ſhall wait till you think proper to exchange it; upon which I ſhall endeavour to conform the States to your deſire; whether our ratification ſhall be ſent to our Commiſſioners now with you; or whether you will pleaſe to ſend your Secretary or your brother here to the Hague; or whether you know any way will pleaſe you better: for in this and every other occurrence I ſhall endeavour to follow your deſires, and ſecond your intentions, as being not by form of compliment, but very really, Sir, your, &c.

qu'alors à la premiere demarche que la France feroit pour fruſtrer la Chrêtienté d'un bien ſi ſalutaire, le Roi de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Géneraux feroient agir incontinent, & ſans marchander, toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre, non ſeulement pour la defenſe des Eſpagnols, mais auſſi pour la fin ſpecifiée au troiſieme de nos articles ſeparés, & plus amplement deduite en ma depêche du 25 Fevrier paſsé.

Au reſte, j'attendrai de vos nouvelles ſi vous avez reçu la ratification du Roi de la Grande Brétagne ſur nôtre dernier traité de marine, que vous jugerez à propos que l'on en faſſe l'échange; ſur quoi je tacherai de diſpoſer les Etats à ſe conformer à vôtre deſir; ſoit que l'on envoi nôtre ratification és mains de nos commiſſaires qui ſe trouvent preſentement aupres de vous; ſoit que vous envoyez vôtre ſecretaire, ou bien Monſieur vôtre frere ici à la Haye; ou que vous ſachiez encore quelque autre façon qui ſoit plus à vôtre goût: car, & en cela, & en toute autre occurrence, je tacherai de ſuivre vos deſirs, & de ſeconder vos intentions, comme étant non par forme de compliment, mais fort réellement, Monſieur, vôtre, &c.

From De

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March
SIR, 25, 1668.

I Received the honour of yours of the 25th inſtant, upon which I will tell you in few words, that I am wholly of your opinion; as well for what regards the King of France's diſpoſition to carry on the war, the inſufficiency of his offer to reſtore all he may conquer between the firſt of April and the fifteenth of May, the ſtrained exceptions againſt the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo's powers, and his acceptation of the alternative; as chiefly for what regards the forces to be raiſed with all poſſible readineſs, and the manner by which we ought to proceed to the defence of the Netherlands, as ſoon as the King of France ſhall begin to move againſt them. The States are every day more confirmed in the ſame ſentiments, as their actions declare, by marching an army with all diligence to Bergen-op-zoom, and by ſending an expreſs to the King of Great Britain with intelligence, that they are of opinion, that, in order to ſatisfy the King of France upon the ſcruples propoſed in Monſieur de Lionne's paper of the 19th inſtant, with promiſes and aſſurances ſufficient, we muſt let him know diſ-

De Monſieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 25
Monſieur, Mars, 1668.

J'AI bien reçû la lettre dont il vous a plû m'honorer du 25me de ce mois, ſurquoi je vous dirai en peu de mots que je ſuis tout à fait de vôtre opinion, tant à l'égard de la diſpoſition du Roi de France à continuer la guerre, l'inſuffiſance de l'offre de vouloir reſtituer tout ce qu'il pourroit conquerir entre le premier d'Avril & le 15me Mai; les exceptions recherchées contre les pouvoirs du Marquis de Caſtel Rodrigo, & contre ſon acceptation de l'alternative; que principalement & ſur tout à l'égard de l'armement que l'on devroit avancer avec toute la promptitude poſſible, & de la maniere de laquelle on devra accourir à la defenſe du Païs-Bas, dès que le Roi de France commencera à ſe remuër pour l'accabler. Les Etats ont déjà approuvé & confirmé encore de jour en jour les mêmes ſentimens par leurs actions; faiſant marcher en toute diligence une armée aux environs de Bergopzoom, & ayant envoyé leur avis par un exprés au Roi de la Grande Brétagne, qu'ils ſont d'opinion qu'auſſi bien que de ſatisfaire au Roi de France ſur les ſcrupules propoſés dans l'écrit du Sieur de Lionne du 19me de ce mois, avec des aſſurances & promeſſes ſuffiſants, il faudra lui faire ſavoir diſcretement, & néanmoins

discreetly, and yet positively, that we think his generosity will not suffer him to ruin a State, or a Minister of Spain, whom the King of England and the States General have obliged, at his request, to accept the conditions prescribed, with a formal assurance, that by that means he should free himself from all the danger of the war. And, at least, that the honour and good faith of the King of Great Britain and the States cannot suffer such a State or Minister to be injured without lending him their service and assistance. And by every body's disposition here I am assured that, as soon as the agreement is concluded, we shall march to the assistance of the Netherlands, upon the first step France shall make to attack them, if the King of England will do the like. But, to acquit our consciences, and let the world see the justice of our proceeding; I am entirely of opinion we must make all advances, and give all due assurances to France, to oblige them to the peace. Upon which, with many other particulars, I refer you to the Deputies of the States to communicate to you; having not time at present to enlarge farther, but only to repeat in one word, that I am truly, Sir, your, &c.

From

anmoins bien positivement, que nous jugeons que sa generosité ne pourra pas permettre qu'il accable un Etat ou un Ministre d'Espagne, que le Roi d'Angleterre & les Etats Géneraux ont obligé à sa requisition d'accepter les conditions préscrites, avec une assurance formelle que par là il se delivreroit de tout danger de la guerre: & qu'au moins l'honneur & la bonne foi du Roi de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats ne pourra pas souffrir qu'on accable un tel Etat ou un tel Ministre, sans lui prêter leurs services & assistances: & je ne vois point de disposition ici, qui ne m'assure que l'oppignoration étant conclue, on marchera au secours des Païs Bas dès la premiere demarche que le Roi de France fera pour l'attaquer, si le Roi de la Grande Bretagne en veut faire autant. Mais pour nous satisfaire en bonne conscience, & pour faire voir à tout le monde la justice de nôtre procédé, je suis entierement d'opinion qu'il faudra faire toutes les avances, & donner toutes les assurances requises à la France, pour parvenir, & pour l'obliger à la paix. Surquoi, comme aussi sur plusieurs autres particularités, je me remets à ce que les Deputés de l'Etat vous communiqueront plus en détail, n'ayant pas de tems de m'étendre ici plus amplement, mais seulement pour repeter en un mot que je suis très veritablement, Monsieur, vôtre, &c.

De

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March
SIR, 4, 1668.

I Could not immediately answer yours of the 2d instant, by reason of a fever I got by a great cold last night; but towards noon the fever lessening, gives me leave at present to tell you, that, though it is now some days since Monsieur Beverning's departure for Aix la Chapelle, yet I do not see how in the present conjuncture of affairs it should be more necessary for you to reside in that city than at Brussels; but, on the contrary, that the affair is now reduced to such a point, that the business which carried you to Aix, ought to be treated and finished in a few days, in the place where you are, and in the Netherlands; and I think the King of England's Ministers, and those of the States at Paris, have negotiated with address in procuring us an instrument, which in a few days will put us in a clear light upon what we are finally to resolve and to do; if the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo seconds us, as we hope and expect from his prudence, and from the visible interest of his Master, which obliges him to it. I speak of the project of the treaty drawn upon the foot

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 4
Monsieur, Mars, 1668.

UN grand rheume qui m'a suscité une fièvre la nuit passée, a été cause que je n'ai pas pû vous répondre d'abord à vôtre lettre du 2d de ce mois: mais vers le midi la fièvre étant beaucoup diminuée, me laisse presentement la faculté de vous dire, que quoiqu'il y a déjà quelque jours que Monsieur de Beverning est parti pour se rendre à Aix la Chapelle, je ne voi pas pourtant que dans la conjoncture presente des affaires vôtre séjour soit plus necessaire au dit lieu qu'à Bruxelles; mais que tout au contraire, l'affaire est presentement réduite à un point, que ce, pour quoi vous vous fussiez transporté à Aix, se pourra & se devra traiter & achever en peu de jours, au lieu où vous êtes & au Païs-Bas: & il me semble que Messieurs les Ministres du Roi de la Grande Brétagne & des Etats à Paris, ont negocié adroitement de nous avoir fû procurer un instrument qui nous mettra en peu de jours dans une clarté entiere pour résoudre finalement ce que nous aurons à faire; si le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo nous y seconde, comme nous l'esperons & l'attendons de sa prudence & de l'interêt visible de son Maître qui l'y oblige. Je parle du projet de

of the alternative, and concerted between the said Miniſters of our Maſters at Paris, and the Commiſſioners of the King of France, whereof, I am ſure, you have received a copy from Sir John Trevor. I think this project gives us a certain way of obtaining the peace, or elſe a war, wherein all the Princes and States of Chriſtendom will ſupport us, or at leaſt commend our conduct and proceeding. And I think we muſt proceed in it after this manner: I ſuppoſe before-hand that you and our Deputies with you, will not be at much pains to diſpoſe the Marquis to ſend immediately a power to Monſieur Beuningen and Sir John Trevor, to ſign in his (the Marquis's) name, and from the King his Maſter, the treaty with the King of France's Commiſſioners, agreeable to the project above-mentioned, which I find entirely conformable to our agreement and ſecret articles, as Monſieur Beuningen tells us, that he and Sir John Trevor made the ſame judgment of it. Unleſs his Excellency would rather ſign the ſaid treaty himſelf, and receive the exchange of it ſigned by the King of France. In which caſe I think there may be only writ on the top of the project, 'A treaty of 'peace between the Kings of 'Spain

traité dreſſé ſur le pié de l'alternative & concerté entre leſdits Miniſtres de nos Maîtres à Paris & les Commiſſaires du Roi de France, dont je m'aſſure que vous aurez reçû copie de la part de Monſieur Trevor. Il me ſemble que ce projet nous donne en main un moyen aſſuré pour avoir la paix, ou une guerre dans laquelle tous les Princes & Etats de la Chrêtienté nous appuyeront, ou au moins louëront nôtre procedé & nôtre conduite. Et voici comme quoi, à mon avis, nous y pourrions proceder. Je préſuppoſe que vous & Meſſieurs nos Deputés qui ſe trouvent auprès de vous, n'auront pas beaucoup de peine à diſpoſer Monſieur le Marquis d'envoyer incontinent un pouvoir à Meſſieurs van Beuningen & Trevor, pour ſigner en ſon nom, & de la part du Roi ſon Maître, le traité avec les Commiſſaires du Roi de France, conformement au projet ſuſdit que je trouve entierement conforme à nôtre convention & à nos articles ſecrets; ainſi que le Sieur van Beuningen nous mande auſſi, que lui & Monſieur Trevor en ont rendu ce même jugement. Si ce n'eſt que ſon Excellence aime mieux de ſigner lui-même ledit traité, & d'en recevoir un en échange ſigné de la part du Roi de France, au quel cas il me ſemble que l'on n'auroit qu'à mettre deſſus le projet, Traité de paix entre les Rois

'* Spain and France, to pre-
'vent diſputing upon the
'terms of the preface ;' and, beneath, to add the date. This being done, the aforeſaid Miniſters at Paris muſt, in my opinion, offer the King of France to ſign in the King of Spain's name, or (in caſe his Excellency thinks fit to ſign himſelf) to exchange the treaty ſigned; on condition that France will conſent to a reaſonable time to procure the ratification from the Queen of Spain; and, above all, the continuance of the ceſſation of arms during the time agreed. I ſee that, for granting this term a little more to the humour of France, you will be more liberal and complaiſant than I: for, whereas you are ſatisfied with the term till the 15th of May already propoſed by Monſieur de Ruvigny, I think reaſon and decency ſhould oblige to take till the end of May. And, if the King of France refuſes either to ſign on his ſide, or to grant the ſaid term with the ceſſation of arms, I ſhould not ſtick to declare immediately for Spain, and act by ſea and land in conformity to our third ſeparate article.

And ſince it cannot enter into a reaſonable man's mind,

* And in the other inſtrument, of France and Spain,

that

Rois d'Eſpagne & de France; pour ne diſputer pas ſur les termes de la préface; & au bas d'ajoûter la date. Cela étant fait, il faudra, à mon jugement, que leſdits Miniſtres à Paris offrent au Roi de France de ſigner, au nom du Roi d'Eſpagne, ou bien d'échanger le traité ſigné, ſi ſon Excellence ait trouvé bon de ſigner lui même; moyennant que la France accorde un terme raiſonnable pour procurer la ratification de la Reine d'Eſpagne, & ſur tout la continuation de la ceſſation d'armes pendant ce terme un peu au gré de la France, vous ſeriez plus liberal ou complaiſant que moi; car au lieu que vous vous contenteriez du terme de 15me de Mai ci devant propoſé par Monſieur de Ruvigny, il me ſemble que la raiſon & la bienſéance nous obligeroient bien de prendre juſques au dernier jour de Mai: & ſi le Roi de France vient à refuſer ou la ſignature de ſon côté, ou le terme avec la ceſſation d'armes, je ne heſiterois point à nous declarer d'abord ſans marchander, pour l'Eſpagne, & agir par mer & par terre en conformité du 3me de nos articles ſeparés.*

Et comme il ne peut tomber dans l'eſprit d'un homme raiſon-

* Et en l'autre inſtrument, de France & d'Eſpagne.

that the Queen of Spain can be so blind as not to ratify the said treaty, by which a * whole Province is restored, and a minor King delivered from being engaged in a second war with us and Spain; I should not be hard at granting the King of France whatever he can demand with any appearance of reason, in a case that will never arrive; chiefly, because many Princes of Germany will then declare on our side, who might else (blinded by the appearances of reason in Monsieur de Lionne's letter of the 19th past) abandon us entirely. The King of Sweden, or his Minister at London, do, I think, stretch the cord too far, and he will break it if he does not yield a little. However we have last Wednesday sent such orders to our Ambassadors, that I doubt not a good success of this negotiation.

For the other points of your letter, I must refer myself to what you can learn from our Deputies and his Excellency, by advices from the Ambassiador Don Estevan de Gamarra, therefore, I shall conclude, remaining, Sir, your, &c.

* The County of Burgundy.

*able, que la Reine d'Espagne pourroit être si aveugle que de ne ratifier pont le dit traité que lui fait rendre une * Province entiere, & qui delivre un Roi mineur d'un second accablement de l'Angleterre & de cet Etat; je ne serois nullement chiche à accorder au Roi de France tout ce qu'il pourroit demander avec quelque apparence de raison, dans un cas qui n'écherra pas. Principalement parce que plusieurs Princes d'Allemagne alors se declareront de notre parti, qui sans cela, aveuglés par les apparences du raisonnement compris dans la lettre de Monsieur de Lionne du 19me du mois passé, nous abandonneroient entierement. Le Roi de Suede, ou son Ministre à Londres, me semble trop tendre la corde; & il la rompra s'il ne se met un peu à la raison: néanmoins nous avons encore Vendredi passé envoyé tels ordres à nos Ambassadeurs que je ne doute d'un bon succès de cette negociation.*

Quant aux autres points de vôtre lettre, je suis obligé de me remettre à ce que vous pourrez entendre de nos Deputés & de son Excellence par les avis de l'Ambassadeur Don Estevan de Gamarra. C'est pourquoi en finissant je demeurerai comme je suis véritablement, Monsieur, votre, &c.

* La Comté de Bourgogne.

From De-

From the Elector of Mentz.

Mentz, April
My Lord, 12, 1668.

HAving heard of your Excellency's arrival at Aix la Chapelle, to assist in his Majesty of Great Britain's name at a negotiation of peace between the two Crowns, I could not forbear expressing my joy, and the confidence I have that the intervention and authority of so great a King will give much weight to the affair, and very much facilitate the peace; which employing all my thoughts at present, I have dispatched to the said town of Aix the Baron of Schonborn my nephew, with orders to render all offices from me to your Excellency, and to contribute all he can towards a peace so necessary to the repose of all Christendom. In the mean time I desire your Excellency to be assured, that, as I shall always reckon it an honour to serve the King your Master, so I shall never let pass any occasion of shewing in particular that I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and affectionate servant.

From

De l'Electeur de Mayence.

A Mayence, 12
Monsieur, Avril, 1668.

AYant sû l'arrivée de votre Excellence à Aix la Chapelle pour y assister au nom de sa Majesté de la Grande Brétagne à la negociation de la paix entre les deux Couronnes; je n'ai pû m'empêcher de lui temoigner ma joye, & la confiance que j'ai que l'intervention & l'autorité d'un Roy si puissant donnera un poids très grand à l'affaire, & facilitera de beaucoup la conciliation & le retablissement de cette paix: laquelle faisant aujourd'hui tous mes soins, j'ai depêché à ladite ville d'Aix le Baron de Schonborn mon neveu avec ordre d'offrir & de rendre à votre Excellence, de ma part, tous les offices, & de contribuër de son possible pour parvenir à la fin que l'on s'est proposée, pour obtenir une paix si necessaire au répos de toute la Chrêtienté. Cependant je prie vôtre Excellence d'être assurée que comme je ferai toujours gloire de servir le Roi son Maître; de même je ne perdrai jamais l'occasion où je pourrai temoigner en mon particulier que je suis, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence le très humble & très affectionné serviteur.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March 16, 1668.

SIR,

AFter having writ to you on the 4th, I find myſelf honoured by two of yours of the 9th and 14th inſtant. The Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo's manner of tranſacting does infinitely diſpleaſe us; and we believe we have entered enough into his deſigns, to conclude, that his aim is to delay the ſigning of the project, and the ſending of the powers, till the French begin to be in motion: and in the mean while to ſign or ſend the power deſired, and ſummon us by virtue of a former promiſe to oppoſe our arms againſt thoſe of France, which will then begin to enter into action, and by that means ſet us into an open war by advance.

However, to give the ſaid Marquis the ampleſt aſſurance, and to convince him he is in the wrong, we were willing entirely to agree to your advice, and to authoriſe our Deputies to paſs a promiſe with you in due form by writing, inſerting in it the ſame words of our third ſeparate article. And I think you have very judiciouſly conſidered, that the condition of the promiſe ought to be, not only the ſigning of the project and powers; but, if after the ſigning, &c. France refuſes either to conſent to it, or

De Monſieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 16 Mars, 1668.

Monſieur,

APrés que je vous ai écrit le 4me je me trouve honoré de vos deux depêches du 9me & 14me de ce mois. La maniere d'agir de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo nous deplaît infiniment; & nous croyons penetrer aſsés ſes viſées, pour conclurre que ſon but eſt de delayer ſignature du projet & l'envoi du pouvoir juſques à ce que les François commencent à ſe remuër; & de ſigner en même tems ou d'envoyer le pouvoir deſiré, & de nous ſommer en vertu d'une promeſſe préalable d'oppoſer nos armes contre celles de France qui commenceront alors d'entrer en action, & par ainſi nous mettre en guerre ouverte par proviſion.

Néanmoins pour donner au dit Marquis une aſſurance plus ample, & pour achever de le mettre dans le tort, nous avons bien voulu nous conformer entierement à vôtre avis, & autoriſer nos Deputés à paſſer avec vous la promeſſe en bonne & dûé forme par écrit; y inſerant les mêmes paroles troiſieme de nos articles ſeparés; & je juge que vous avez très judicieuſement conſideré que la condition de la promeſſe doit être non ſeulement la ſignature du projet & des pouvoirs; mais ſi après la ſignature, &c. la France refuſe ou

d'y

or to continue the ſuſpenſion of arms, we believe we have great cauſe to complain of the Marquis, that notwithſtanding the ſolemn promiſe made by the States-General, and delivered to Don Eſtevan de Gamara in their reſolution of the 5th of this month, he has delayed to ſign and diſpatch the power; ſo that, if this had been done at firſt, we had been already out of all doubt; for either the concluſion of it would have been purſued at Paris with the ſuſpenſion of arms: or, in caſe of refuſal, England and this State would already act in earneſt, and with a good conſcience, for Spain.

And I deſire you to let his Excellency ſee as plainly as poſſible, that, if now after the ſigning and ſending the power to Paris, and before the King of France can be informed of it, he ſhall receive any diſgrace, it is himſelf he ought to impute it to; for England and this State will not put into his hands the power of involving them in an open war with France, unſeaſonably, and againſt their intention clearly expreſſed in the agreement of the 25th inſtant; which would have happened if we had left him the liberty to delay the ſigning or ſending his power, till he had provoked the French to move; or, if then, ſigning or ſending the power, he had the right of employing our

d'y conſentir, ou de continuër la ſuſpenſion d'armes; nous croyons avoir grand ſujet de nous plaindre du Sieur Marquis en ce que nonobſtant la promeſſe ſolennelle, faite par les Etats Généraux, & delivrée à Don Eſtevan de Gamarra dans leur réſolution du 5me de ce mois, il a delayé de ſigner & de depêcher le pouvoir; d'autant que ſi cela eut été fait d'abord, nous nous trouverions déjà hors de toute obſcurité; car ou la concluſion en auroit été ſuivie à Paris, avec la ſuſpenſion d'armes; ou, en cas de réfus, l'Angleterre & cet Etat agiroit déjà de bon cœur & en bonne conſcience pour l'Eſpagne.

Et je vous ſupplie de faire voir à ſon Excellence le plus vivement qu'il ſe pourra faire, que ſi à cette heure après la ſignature ou l'envoi du pouvoir vers Paris, & avant qu'on en puiſſe avoir averti le Roi de France, il reçoive quelque diſgrace; que ce ſera à ſoi-même à qui il le devra imputer: car l'Angleterre & cet Etat ne peuvent pas lui donner en main un moyen aſſuré pour les enveloper mal à propos & contre leur intention clairement exprimée dans la convention du 25me de ce mois dans une guerre ouverte avec la France; ce qui ſe feroit ſi on lui laiſſoit la faculté de delayer ſignature ou l'envoi de ſon pouvoir juſques à ce qu'il auroit provoqué les François de ſe remuër; ou qu'alors ſignant ou envoyant le

our troops againſt thoſe of France, before the King of France could have had intelligence of the ſaid ſigning or ſending of the ſaid power, and by conſequence before the ſaid King could have finiſhed the treaty, and continued the ſuſpenſion of arms.

I hope, and am aſſured, that after this pace, which is the laſt the States are capable of making in this conjuncture, the Marquis will not delay a moment the ſigning and ſending of the Peace to Paris; but if, contrary to all appearance, he ſhould be capable of doing ſo, I deſire you to let him know, that neither England nor the States can aſſiſt one who manifeſtly refuſes, and conſequently that he will be abandoned on all ſides; and alſo that we ſhall find ourſelves under a neceſſity to reduce him, by more effectual means, to accept really and effectually, by ſigning of the treaty, the alternative he has already accepted by a ſeparate writing. And I even apprehend that, by the delays already paſſed, the affair is reduced to a point not to be redreſſed; as in truth we ſhall find ourſelves embarraſſed enough, if the King of France be already gone from Paris to his army, before the project ſigned, or the power be arrived there. I cannot tell by what politic his Excellency deſires his conduct ſhould be decried

pouvoir il eut le droit de faire agir nos troupes contre celles de France avant que le Roi de France eut pû avoir nouvelle de ladite ſignature ou de l'envoi dudit pouvoir, & par conſequent avant qu'il eut pû faire achever le traité & continuer la ſuſpenſion d'armes.

J'eſpere & je me tiens aſſuré qu'après ce pas qui eſt le dernier que les Etats ſont capables de faire en cette conjoncture, Monſieur le Marquis ne delayera plus un moment la ſignature & l'envoi d'un pouvoir vers Paris; mais, ſi, contre toute apparence, il fût capable de le faire, je vous ſupplie de lui faire voir comme il faut que ni l'Angleterre ni les Etats ne peuvent pas aſſiſter un réfuſant manifeſte; que par conſequent il ſera abandonné de tous côtés, & qu'auſſi nous nous trouverons neceſſités de le reduire par des moyens plus efficaces à accepter réellement & en effet, par la ſignature du traité, l'alternative qu'il a deja accepté par un écrit ſeparé. Et j'apprehend même que par les délais deja paſsés, l'affaire ne ſoit reduite à un point pour ne pouvoir pas être redreſſée: comme en verité nous nous trouverions bien embaraſsés, ſi le Roi de France fût deja parti de Paris vers ſon armée, avant que le projet ſigné ou le pouvoir y fût arrivé. Je ne ſai pas par quelle politique ſon Excellence trouve bon de faire décrier ſa conduite par tout le monde, & de perdre le païs de ſon gouvernement;

decried by all men, or that his government should be lost; for, to think us so ill advised, that he can engage us in a war against France, when they on their side are earnest for concluding a peace, is what I cannot suppose; and, if he thinks France will draw back, or refuse the suspension, then why he would not let it appear publicly to the world by a ready signing on his side; this is what I cannot comprehend.

In the mean time Monsieur Colbert at Aix has loudly made appear the easiness, and even the complaisance, of his Master, by the protestation he has publicly made, that he has order to sign the alternative, without excepting against the preamble of the Marquis's power upon the defect of a faculty to substitute, or upon any other; whereas, on the contrary, the Baron de Bergeyck is not authorised to do any thing at all: and I assure you, the positive advices we receive of it, make every body's head turn: therefore I desire you so much the more to endeavour effectually that the Marquis should finish the affair without any more delay; for, if this last compliance of the State does not satisfy him, I confess to you I shall think no farther, but of some effectual means to reduce him to reason, and of some expedients

ment; car de nous croire si mal avises qu'elle nous pourroit engager dans une guerre contre la France, lors qu'elle de son côté veut tout de bon conclurre la paix, c'est que je ne puis pas presupposer: & si elle juge que la France reculera ou refusera la suspension, pourquoi elle ne l'ait pas voulu faire paroître publiquement devant tout le monde par une prompte signature de son côté, c'est ce que je ne puis pas comprendre.

Cependant Monsieur Colbert à Aix a fait paroître hautement la facilité, voire la complaisance, du Roi son Maître, par la protestation qu'il fait publiquement, qu'il a ordre de signer l'alternative, sans faire exception sur le préamble du pouvoir du Marquis, sur le défaut de la faculté de substituër, au autres; là ou au contraire Monsieur le Baron de Bergeyck ne se trouve autorisé à rien. Et je vous assure que les avis positifs que nous en recevons, font tourner la tête à un chacun: c'est pourquoi je vous supplie d'autant plus de tenir la main efficacement à ce que Monsieur le Marquis acheve l'affaire sans plus de delai: car si cette derniere complaisance des Etats ne lui satisfait pas, je vous avoue que je ne songerai plus qu'aux moyens efficaces pour le reduire à la raison, & aux expediens, par lesquels le Roi de la Grande Brétagne & leurs Hautes Puissances se puissent entendre avec la France,

dients by which the King of Great Britain and their High Mightineſſes may take meaſures with France for preventing the miſeries of the neighbourhood; in which I hope you aſſiſt with as much application, according to the intent of our agreement, as I believe you will by all means endeavour to prevent a caſe ſo deſperate, and ſo deſtructive to Spain: and for me I ſhall remain ever with much paſſion, Sir, your, &c.

France, pour prevenir les malheurs de ſon voiſinage: en quoi j'eſpere que vous cooperez avec autant d'application ſelon l'intention de notre convention, que je me tiens aſſuré que vous tacherez par toute ſorte de moyens de prevenir ce cas deſeſperé & ruineux pour l'Eſpagne. Et moi, je demeurerai à jamais avec beaucoup de paſſion, Monſieur, vôtre très humble ſerviteur.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, April

SIR, 27, 1668.

YOU ought to be well ſatisfied with your whole conduct, ſince the ſucceſs ſo well anſwers your good intention, and that your work has ſo excellent an agreement with the foundations you had laid. All Chriſtendom owes you the glory of having firſt diſpoſed the King of Great Britain's mind to ſo ſtrict an alliance between his Majeſty and this State, for the univerſal good and peace of Europe. It is upon this principle you have continued to labour with ſo much application, and ſo ſucceſsfully with the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo, that it is chiefly to you we are obliged for the good diſpoſition he is in at preſent, and for the enjoyment of ſo great an advantage to Chriſtendom as reſults from it. I ſpeak of it as a thing

A la Haye, 27

Monſieur, Avril, 1668.

VOUS devez être bien ſatisfait de toute vôtre conduite, puiſque le ſuccès repond ſi parfaitement à vôtre bonne intention, & que vôtre ouvrage a un ſi excellent rapport aux fondemens que vous en aviez jettés. Toute la Chrêtienté vous doit la gloire d'avoir donné la premiere diſpoſition dans l'eſprit du Roi de la Grande Brétagne à une ſi étroite liaiſon entre ſa Majeſté & cet Etat pour le bien & le repos univerſel de l'Europe. Sur ce principe vous avez continué de travailler avec tant d'application & ſi heureuſement auprès de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, que c'eſt à vous principalement à qui l'on eſt obligé de la bonne diſpoſition en laquelle il ſe trouve preſentement, & de la jouïſſance d'un ſi grand avantage pour la Chrêtient é qui

en

thing we poſſeſs already, becauſe I ſee nothing that can hinder us from it; it being likely that the Baron de Bergeyck has already executed the power we have ſent him; and that the Court of Madrid, in order to deliver Flanders from its troubleſome gueſts, will no longer defer to ratify the treaty. For the reſt, I agree extremely with your ſentiments, and am of your opinion, ſome exchange of places ſhould be negotiated immediately after the ſigning of the treaty.

I writ about it before to Monſieur Beverning, ſo that I do not doubt but you have been entertained with it already. I confeſs alſo with you, that this negotiation will be more conveniently managed afterwards at Paris than any where elſe, at leaſt, if the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo can reſolve to have confidence enough in the K. of G. Britain's Miniſters and thoſe of this State, to refer them to the negotiation of an affair of this nature: though, if he conſiders it well, he will find that we both have the ſame intereſt in it. You have nothing elſe but to go on your own way upon the foundation of the agreement o January the 23d, to ſupport the peace made, by a guaranty of all who are intereſted in it, either in general or particular; never

en reſulte. J'en parle comme d'une choſe que nous poſſedons dejà, parceque je ne voi rien qui nous en puiſſe fruſtrer, y ayant de l'apparence que dès à preſent le Baron de Bergeyck aura executé le pouvoir que nous lui avons porté; & que la Cour de Madrid, pour delivrer les Païs-Bas de l'importunité de ſes hôtes, ne voudra pas differer de ratifier le traité. Au reſte, je donne fort dans vos ſentimens, & ſuis d'avis que l'on faſſe negocier quelque échange de places incontinent après la ſignature du traité.

J'en ai écrit ci-devant à Monſieur Beverning, de ſorte que je ne doute point que vous ne vous en ſoyez deja entretenus. J'avoue auſſi avec vous que cette negociation ſe fera plus commodement dans la ſuite à Paris qu'ailleurs; au moins ſi Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo peut reſoudre à prendre aſſez de confiance aux Miniſtres du Roi de la Grande Brétagne & de cet Etat, pour s'en rapporter à eux de la negociation d'une affaire de cette nature; quoique s'il le conſidere bien, il trouvera que nous y avons les uns & les autres preſque le méme interêt. Vous n'avez que continuër vôtre route ſur le fondement de la convention du 23 Janvier, pour ſoutenir la paix faite par une guarantie de tous les intereſsés en géneral & en particulier; & ne point craindre que ceux qui travailleront au nom de cet Etat avec vous, decon-

ver fearing that thoſe who ſhall negotiate jointly with you in the name of this State, will diſorder the harmony that has appeared in the whole courſe of this negotiation. What they can do, is as well from their own inclination, as in purſuance of their orders. For me, I ſhall ever ſecond your zeal with joy, and ſhall take all occaſions to ſhew with how much paſſion and ſincerity I am, Sir, yours, &c.

deconcertent cette belle harmonie que l'on à vûe en toute la ſuite de cette negociation. Ils le feront non ſeulement en execution des ordres qu'ils en ont, mais auſſi par inclination. Pour moi, ce ſera toujours avec joye que je ſeconderai votre zele, & que je rencontrerai les occaſions où je vous puiſſe donner des preuves de paſſion & ſincerité avec laquelle la je ſuis, Monſieur, vôtre très humble ſerviteur.

From my Lord Arlington.

SIR, Whitehall, May 8, 1668.

IF I had written to you laſt poſt (as I ſhould have done if there had been time for it) you would have heard me complain much of the pain I was in not to hear from you in fifteen days in ſo delicate a conjuncture of affairs, which was occaſioned by contrary winds. In the mean time we were a little eaſed by Sir John Trevor's aſſurance to us of the peace having been ſigned on the 2d, N. S. which has been ſince amply confirmed by two of yours brought together, of the 2d and 8th, N. S. ſo that now I can with foundation give you the *parabien* of this great work, which you may without vanity call your own, whatever *padrinoes* you have had to aſſiſt you in it: and with more ſatisfaction, conſidering what eſcapes you made between the Marquis's irreſolutions, the Baron de Bergeyck's punctilios, and Monſieur Colbert's *emportement*. God be thanked, the great buſineſs and you are ſo well delivered from theſe accidents; after which I hope this will find you ſafely arrived at Bruſſels, and keeping yourſelf ſtill in the ſame figure of equipage to wear the better the character

racter of his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at the Hague; towards which I will ſend you with all ſpeed his final reſolution and inſtructions. In the mean time you will receive, by the incloſed, his mind to the Marquis, recommending to his Excellence the making good with all ſpeed to the Crown of Sweden what we and the Dutch Ambaſſadors have promiſed to the Count de Dona, as you will ſee by this incloſed act, which we gave him at the exchange of our treaty, engaging him in the triple alliance; the performance of which the Dutch Ambaſſadors and I have already beſpoken of the Count de Molina within ſix weeks time, when we hope the ratification will be come from Stockholm; and, the ſaid Ambaſſador obſerving already that the Count de Molina calls to the Dutch Ambaſſadors and us for a ratification, he admoniſhes us to delay it till the conditions be performed with him. This, I ſay, is offered, but not concluded by us to be ſo obſerved.

His Majeſty had reſolved the Parliament ſhould adjourn on Monday laſt, but, an unhappy difference falling out between the Lords and Commons upon a great point of their privileges, their ſitting hath been ſpun on to this day, though not without hopes of our finally riſing to-morrow. Our long talked of miſcarriages have this week been finiſhed with a very unhappy one in the Queen, after twenty days going, and raiſing the dejected hopes of the whole nation, which even this misfortune hath ſomewhat revived. I leave it to Ambaſſador Patrick to entertain you upon this ſubject, who cannot fail of long letters by this poſt. I am, with all truth and affection, Sir, your very humble ſervant.

P. S. You never ſent us any copy of the promiſe of guaranty you ſigned to the Marquis; though you did the original of that he gave you in exchange of it, with

with relation to the King our Master. When the Count de Molina hath pressed me apart from the Dutch Ambassadors for his Majesty's ratification, I have told him he ought to have ready his ratification from Madrid to exchange with ours; which it will not be amiss for you to take notice of likewise to the Marquis, when he shall give you occasion for it.

From the Elector of Mentz.

Mentz, May
My Lord, 14, 1668.

THE honour of a general joy, upon the peace concluded and signed between the Crowns, being equally due to the vigorous interposition of his Majesty of Great Britain, and to the wise conduct of your Excellency in an affair of such importance to Christendom; I desire to rejoice with you upon the happy success of it. I hope the ratification of this treaty will be exchanged in due time on both sides; and shall not fail, on my part, of contributing all I can to the preservation of the public peace, and to second his Majesty's intentions; assuring your Excellency in the mean time, that the obligations will never be forgot, which an infinite number of good Christians owe you for your diligence in accomplishing the peace: and that, for my particular, I shall cherish all occasions of shewing your Excellency the sincerity of my affection, and how much

De Mayence, 14
Monsieur, Mai, 1668.

L'Honneur d'une joye générale sur la paix conclue & signée entre les Couronnes, se devant également à la vigoureuse interposition de sa Majesté de la Grande Brétagne, & à la sage maniere dont vôtre Excellence a sû conduire une affaire de telle importance à toute la Chrêtienté; j'ai bien voulu me conjouïr avec elle de l'heureux succès qui l'a suivi. J'espère que la ratification de ce traité sera échangée à son terme de part & d'autre; & ne manquerai de contribuer de ma part tout ce que je pourrai à la conservation du répos public, & pour seconder les intentions de sa Majesté; assûrant cependant vôtre Excellence qu'on n'oubliera jamais les obligations que lui doivent une infinité de bons Chretiens pour les soins qu'elle a apportés à la conciliation de cette paix; & que pour mon particulier je cherirai les occasions par lesquelles je lui pourrai temoigner la sincerité de mon affection, & combien je desire lui faire connoître

much I deſire to let you know that I am your Excellency's moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſervant.

noître que je ſuis, Monſieur, de vôtre Excellence très humble & tres affectionné ſerviteur.

From the Duke de Roanez.

From the Camp of Ruyſbrouk,
SIR, May 29, 1668.

THE Count of Rembourg has informed me this morning (being the 27th inſtant) at eleven o'clock, from the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo, of the arrival of the ratification; to which I ſent anſwer, that I doubted not of what he did me the honour to write to me, but that I had no news of it from the King. Be pleaſed that I repeat the ſame thing to you, to tell you that I wonder extremely how any one can complain that I have attacked their troops out of the city; ſince theſe acts of hoſtilities are always allowed till the publication of the peace; for it is but yeſterday that one of their parties attacked ours, whereof I ſent you the priſoners back to Braine le Chateau; and the ſame day thoſe of Braine le Chateau took 10000 Francs from the equipage of one of our captains. They might better inform you, how I ſend your priſoners back, without ſuffering them to be diſmounted or plundered; that I allow no pillage that comes to my knowledge, and that they have diſ-

Au Camp de Ruyſbrouk,
Monſieur, 29 Mai, 1668.

MOnſieur le Compte de Rembourg m'a fait ſavoir ce matin 27 *à onze heures, de la part de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, l'arrivée de la ratification: à qui j'ai fait réponſe, que je ne doutois pas de ce qu'il me faiſoit l'honneur de m'écrire; mais que je n'en avois aucune nouvelle du côté du Roi. Trouvez bon que je vous repete la même choſe; & que je vous diſe que je ſuis extremement étonné que l'on ſe puiſſe plaindre de ce que j'ai fait attaquer leurs troupes hors de la ville: puiſque ces ſortes d'actes d'hoſtilité ſont permis juſqu' à la publication de la paix, & que même hier un de leurs parties attaqua les nôtres, dont je renvoyai les priſonniers à Braine le Chateau; & le même jour, ceux du même Braine le Chateau prirent près de dix mille Francs d'équipage à un de nos capitaines. Ils pourroient encore mieux vous informer comme je renvoi leurs priſonniers, ſans permettre qu'on les demonte & qu'on les dépouille; que je ne ſouffre point de pillage qui vienne à ma connoiſſance; & qu'ils ont demonté & dépouillé juſqu' à nos domeſtiques. Pour ce que Monſieur*

dismounted and stripped even my own domestics. For what the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo has assured you, that his troops on the 27th at noon, and the 28th or 29th at night, acted only in the defensive: if there be any action for the future, whereof I see no appearance, then I shall know by the issue, whether they have yet acted defensively or offensively. This is all I can answer you upon what is past, or to come. In expectation of the King's orders for publishing the peace at the camp, as it has been this day published at Brussels, you will do me justice to believe that no one is more than I, Sir, your most humble servant.

Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo vous a assuré que ses troupes le 27me après midi, & la nuit du 28me ou 29me, n'avoient agi qu'en se défendant; c'est une verité dont je tombe d'accord: si à l'avenir il y a quelque action, à quoi je ne voi point d'apparence, alors je saurai par l'issue s'ils ont encore agi en se défendant ou en attaquant. Voila ce que je vous puis repondre pour ce qui est passé, & ce qui peut arriver, en attendant les ordres du Roi pour faire publier la paix au camp comme l'on l'a publiée aujourd'hui à Bruxelles; vous me ferez justice de croire qu'il n'est personne qui soit plus, Monsieur, vôtre très humble serviteur.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, July 6, 1668.

SIR,

I Could not receive more agreeable news than what you tell me of your return hither with the character of Ambassador. I am sure you will not doubt the truth of what I say, when you reflect on the satisfaction I ought to have, and have already, in the generosity and sincerity I have observed in all your proceedings. You have reason, Sir, to say, that it is impossible the King of Great Britain should not design to live in a perfect good intelligence with this State,

A la Haye, 6 Juill. 1668.

Monsieur,

JE ne pouvois pas recevoir un avis plus agréable que celui que vous me donnez de vôtre prochain rétour avec la qualité d'Ambassadeur: je m'assure que vous ne douterez point de la verité de ce que je viens de dire; quand vous voudrez faire reflexion sur la satisfaction que je dois avoir, & ai en effet, de la generosité & sincerité que j'ai remarqué en tout vôtre procedé. Vous avez raison de dire, Monsieur, qu'il ne se peut, que l'intention du Roi de la Grande Brétagne ne soit de vivre dans une

State, when he ſends us a perſon who ought to be ſo dear to us upon ſo many conſiderations, honoured with a character that ſhews the eſteem and friendſhip he has for this State: we ſhall endeavour the continuance of both, by doing all his Majeſty can expect from his moſt faithful allies; and by the ſame means I ſhall endeavour to give his Majeſty the marks of that profound reſpect I have for his perſon, and the proofs of thoſe ſentiments I have for your merit. And as you and I deſire nothing on both ſides, but to preſerve eternally the good intelligence you have helped to ſtrengthen with ſo much ſucceſs; I cannot doubt, but we may eaſily avoid whatever is capable of changing it. Permit me, Sir, to ſay, that you ſhall find me always diſpoſed to give all facility to whatever can eſtabliſh the common intereſt of either State; and, as I know I ſhall always find the ſame diſpoſition in you, I cannot but rejoice when I conſider, that I ſhall have to negociate with a Miniſter who poſſeſſes all the qualities that can make him ſucceed in whatever he undertakes.

une parfaitement bonne intelligence avec cet Etat, puiſque il nous envoye une perſonne qui nous doit être chere par tant de conſiderations, revêtue d'un charactere qui marque l'eſtime & l'amitié qu'il a pour cet Etat. Nous tacherons d'en meriter la continuation en faiſant tout ce que ſa Majeſté pourra deſirer des ſes plus fideles alliés; & par le même moyen tacherai de lui donner des marques du profond reſpect que j'ai pour la perſonne de ſa Majeſté, & des preuves des ſentimens que j'ai de vôtre merite. Et comme de part & d'autre, nous ne deſirons rien, ni vous ni moi, que de conſerver éternellement la bonne intelligence que vous avez aidé à affermir avec tant de ſuccès; je ne puis pas douter que nous n'évitions ſans peine tout ce qui pourroit être capable de l'alterer. Permettez moi, Monſieur, que je vous diſe encore, que vous me trouverez toujours diſpoſé à donner une derniere facilité à tout ce qui pourra établir l'interêt commun de l'un & de l'autre Etat; & comme je ſai que je trouverai toujours la même diſpoſition en vous, il ne ſe peut que je ne me rejoüiſſe quand je conſidere que j'aurai à negocier avec un Miniſtre qui poſſede toutes les qualités qui le peuvent faire réüſſir en tout ce qu'il entreprendra.

This is all I am permitted to ſay, by an affliction lately come upon me, having loſt a

C'eſt tout ce que me permet de dire preſentement l'affliction qui m'eſt ſurvenue, venant de perdre

wife who was indeed the true half of me; whereof I make no difficulty by this occasion to inform you, who have had the goodness to tell me, that you take part in my concerns; as on my side I shall ever do in all your interests, with that affection and sincerity wherewith I am and shall remain all my life, Sir, your most humble servant.

une femme qui faisoit en effet la véritable moitié de moi-même; dont je ne fais point de difficulté de faire part par cette occasion, à celui qui a eu la bonté de me temoigner qu'il en prend beaucoup de part à ce qui me touche; comme de mon côté j'en prendrai toujours à tous vos interêts avec toute l'affection & sincerité avec laquelle je suis & demeurerai toute ma vie, Monsieur, vôtre très humble serviteur.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, July
SIR, 27, 1668.

IN your obliging letter of the 3d instant, I find so many marks of affection and tenderness for me, that I cannot defer to return you my most humble thanks, and to tell you, that of all the consolations given me in my affliction, there is none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I there find, it is the heart that speaks, and that you truly take part in my affliction, whereof I see you know the greatness, because you so well know the inestimable loss I have suffered. And I dare to say, that, if any remedy be capable of closing the wound, it will doubtless be what your gentle healing hand has applied to it. I confess it is somewhat sensible, because it searches the wound, but it afterwards applies a balm that eases

A la Haye, 27
Monsieur, Juill. 1668.

JE trouve dans l'obligéante lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 3me de ce mois, stile de lieu, tant de marques d'affection & de tendresse pour moi, que je ne puis pas differer de vous dire que de toutes les consolations que l'on me donne en mon affliction, il n'y en a point qui ait été plus efficace que celle que je viens de recevoir de vous: j'y reconnois que c'est le cœur qui parle, & que vous prenez véritablement part à mon affliction; dont je voi que vous savez la grandeur puisque vous savez celle de la perte inestimable que j'ai faite: & j'ôse dire que s'il y a un remede capable de fermer la playe, c'est sans doute celui qui y applique la main benigne & salutaire que vous me prêtez: elle se fait sentir, je l'avouë, parce qu'elle sonde la playe, mais elle y applique ensuite un baume qui

eaſes and leſſens the pain. I receive it as I ought, and ſhall endeavour to profit by all your conſolations, by combating my weakneſs with the ſtrength of your reaſons, which are dictated to you not only by that Chriſtian philoſophy whereof you make profeſſion, but by that ſincere friendſhip wherewith you are pleaſed to honour me. I moſt humbly intreat you to be perſuaded that I perfectly return your kindneſs, and am impatient for an occaſion to give you proofs of it, which as I hope I ſhall find when we have the happineſs to enjoy you, ſo I deſire with paſſion to ſee you here, to let you judge of the intention of this State to preſerve faithfully the alliance that the King of Great Britain has pleaſed to make with it, but more particularly to let you judge of the inclination I have to contribute thereto all in my ſmall power; and to remain as long as I live, Sir, your, &c.

qui la doucit & qui en ſoulage la douleur. Je le reçoi comme je dois, & tâcherai de faire mon profit de toutes vos conſolations, en combatant une foibleſſe avec la force de vos raiſons, que vous dicte non ſeulement la philoſophie Chrétienne, dont vous faites profeſſion, mais auſſi la très ſincere amitié, dont il vous plait m'honorer. Je vous ſupplie très humblement d'être perſuadé que j'y réponds parfaitement, que je ſuis dans l'impatience de vous en pouvoir donner des preuves; & que comme j'eſpere que j'en trouverai les occaſions, lorſque nous aurons l'avantage de vous poſſeder, je deſire avec paſſion de vous voir ici, pour vous faire juge de l'intention de l'Etat à entretenir fidellement l'alliance qu'il a plû au Roi de la Grande Brétagne faire avec lui; mais bien plus particulierement de l'inclination que j'ai à y contribuër tout ce qui eſt de mon petit pouvoir, & à demeurer tant que je vivrai, Monſieur, votre très affectionné & très humble ſerviteur.

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

SIR, July 26, 1666.

I Received yours yeſterday morning after you were gone hence; and am afraid the letter which I ſent you from Mr. Williamſon, might come unſeaſonably to diſcompoſe you: it not being ſo intended by me; nor I believe the meſſage from the King to be otherwiſe intended than out of kindneſs and reſpect to you

to

to haſten you away; that you might know how important he held your negociations might be for his ſervice at this critical time. And therefore I ſhould be glad that you would take this by the right handle.

I had a letter this night from Sir Thomas Clifford; who writes, that they in the treaſury have a great deſire to accommodate you: and though it be not in the privy ſeal, that you ſhall have three months advance beſides the 10001. yet they will be careful that you receive the money as it is due. The draught of the inſtructions are ſent away to my Lord Arlington, and expected back on Tueſday night, and the foreign committee appointed to ſit on Wedneſday to diſpatch them. Really, Sir, I do not think that there is any intention in preſſing your departure for Holland, but juſt and honourable towards you, and with reſpect to the greatneſs of the employment and the urgency of the King's affairs at this time to have you at the Hague: and (if you will take my opinion) I would not have you take other meaſures of it, even for your own ſake. In the mean time, while you do ſtay, you may preſs on the buſineſs of your account, tho' I ſhould not adviſe you to retard your journey upon that ſcore. It may be as well preſſed on by your Lady if ſhe do not accompany you, or elſe by your ſolicitors (among whom I will be one) who, if any obſtructions be, may write to you to remove them: but you will find the Vice-Chamberlain dilatory, and then your ſtay at laſt upon this new buſineſs (for ſo I may call it) may beget a miſconſtruction. You will pardon the freedom I take in imparting my own thoughts to you in this caſe.

I wiſh you and my Lady (to whom I recommend my humble ſervice) a happy journey and all other felicities, as I wiſh to myſelf, who am ever your faithful and very affectionate ſervant.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

Harding
4 vols.
1/0/0
C